THE

Communist International

DIMITROFF - - THE TWO YEARS' HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

P. WIEDEN - - THREE YEARS AFTER THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS

K. WERNER - - THE REAL RULERS OF GERMANY

FRANZ LANG - THE ELECTIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Organ of the Communist International

VOLUME XVI

8

SIXPENCE

CONTENTS OVERLEAF

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Published monthly in Russian, German, French, Chinese, Spanish and English

Contents:

No. 8, August, 1938

		Page
1.	G. Dimitroff: The Two Years' Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People	109
	EDITORIAL NOTES	
2.	The Chosen of the People	116
3.	Sir Walter Citrine, the Friend of Chamberlain	118
4.	Non-Interventionists Intervene	121
5.	Swastika and Christianity	122
6.	"Aryan" Megalomania receives K.O.	124
7.	A Social Democrat Bespatters the People of Vienna	126
8.	Is History Repeating Itself	127
9.	Gone to the Dogs	129
	THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT	
10.	P. Wieden: Three Years after the 7th Congress	130
11.	K. Werner: The Real Masters of Germany	137
12.	J. Decaux: On the 4th Anniversary of the United Front Pact in France	144
13.	A. Duval: In Unity Lies the Strength of the Spanish People	148
14.	S. Bloomfield: The Tenth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.	152
	OBITUARY	
15.	Comrade Dr. Walter Strub	155
	FROM THE SOVIET UNION	
16.	F. Lang: The Elections in the Soviet Union	157
	CHRONICLE OF EVENTS	
17.	Spain—France—England—Italy	163

THE TWO YEARS HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

I

FOR two years the Spanish people have, with unexampled courage, been defending their liberty and independence. In exceptionally difficult conditions, at the cost of tremendous sacrifice and the blood of their valiant sons, they have defended every inch of their native land against the army of the Fascist invaders. In the history of the human race it will be difficult to find a more heroic epic story of struggle by a whole people against alien enslavers, and at the same time a baser and more criminal war against a cultured and civilised people of Europe. This war is being waged in a situation where international bodies, claiming to be the defenders of world peace, and the Governments of the biggest Western European States, which proudly consider themselves to be the representatives of democracy, culture and civilisation, not only put up with the unparalleled crimes of the fascist barbarians, but actually support and encourage them by their entire policy.

As is well known, the diplomats of the West European Powers and of leading League of Nations circles justify their "non-intervention" policy—so full of treachery to the Spanish people—by the hypocritical statement that the war in Spain is only the internal affair of the Spaniards themselves, that it is a case of two Spanish camps, and that to support the lawful Government of Spain, to enable the Spanish Republic to employ its right, established in international law, of acquiring arms for self-defence would be intervention in Spanish affairs and would lead to war on a big scale.

The events, however, that preceded the fascist revolt of July 18, 1936, and particularly those that developed during the course of the war, provide quite another picture, and utterly destroy this legend created by the pro-Fascist friends of Hitler and Mussolini in England and France. During the past two years numerous facts have become widely known which clearly go to prove that the rebellion of the Fascist generals was, from its very outset, prepared by official Fascist circles in Germany and Italy. Generals Sanjurjo, Franco and Mola were the obedient tools of these real initiators of the war in Spain.

The German Fascists have long cherished dreams of conquering Spain. In this respect, as in many others, they have inherited the old plans of German imperialism, which, as far back as the days of the world imperialist war, made preparations for the seizure of Spain. With a view to realising these plans, German Fascism developed espionage and disruptive work in Spain on an extensive scale. During the existence of the Government of the Spanish reactionary Gil Robles, the German Fascists, with complete liberty, set up dozens of bases of the so-called "Landesgruppe," and established firm contacts with the Spanish army generals and systematically recruited their agents from among the officers. They received big orders for war supplies and works of construction from the Gil Robles Government, and were acquainted with all the objects of military importance in Spanish Morocco, the Balearic Isles, Gibraltar, and other places of great strategic significance during wartime.

This activity of the German Fascists in Spain was facilitated by the fact that the reactionary upper clique of Spanish landowners and capitalists, who were then in power and were overthrown after the victory of the People's Front during the Parliamentary elections, went over completely to the side of Fascism. The Spanish reactionaries did everything possible to crush the young democratic Republic, sent their men to undergo training in Germany, while Gil Robles, the War Minister and, in fact, head of the reactionary Government, personally attended the German Fascist Congress at Nuremberg.

The preparations for the rebellion, inspired by the Berlin taskmasters, went full steam ahead long before July 18, 1936. General Sanjurjo, one of the ringleaders of the rebellion (who flew from abroad to lead the rebellion in Spain and met his death during this flight), had gone to Germany on behalf of his associates, Franco, Mola and others, six months before the outbreak of the rebellion, and while there had come to a final agreement with the German Fascists as to the forthcoming Fascist coup in Spain.

It will not be superfluous now to call to mind the report on this point from the *Pravda* correspondent on March 12, 1936:

> "The well-known Spanish monarchist, General Sanjurjo —organiser of numerous counter-revolutionary plots in Spain—is now in Berlin. General Sanjurjo and his suite stayed at the Kaiserhof Hotel, where guests of the German Government usually stay. It is reported that General Sanjurjo is engaged in Berlin in negotiations regarding assistance to counter-revolutionary military organisations in Spain, which are preparing a new plot against the Government. In particular, Sanjurjo intends to acquire a large quantity of military equipment from German firms."

Italian Fascism took no less active a part in pre-

paring the rebellion. According to documents seized during the clean-up of an espionage centre in Valencia, it is established beyond all possible doubt that as far back as 1934 Mussolini conducted negotiations with representatives of the Spanish monarchists, and promised to supply them with funds, men, aeroplanes and military equipment in the event of their taking action. Several months before the rebellion took place, Mussolini had already issued orders to equip troops to be sent to Spain. Entire squadrons of aeroplanes were made ready, and part of them were already transferred to Spanish Morocco at Franco's disposal.

Thus it was that the German and Italian Fascists wished to employ the Spanish generals to strangle the Spanish people, to seize their country, to utilise its riches, to transform the territory of Spain, the Balearic Isles, Spanish Morocco, Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Sea into bases for the world imperialist war being prepared by them with a view to a new redivision of the globe.

It is now also beyond doubt that the seizure of Spain by Fascist Germany and Italy was a component part of the so-called "Anti-Comintern" agreement between Hitler and Mussolini, and was the first act of the international offensive of the "Berlin-Rome axis."

The Italian and German inspirers of the Spanish rebel generals counted on the rapid seizure of State power and the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship in Spain. The Fascists, however, miscalculated. They reckoned without the host. Instead of the expected rapid and easy victories, the rebels met with the resolute resistance of the Spanish people. In Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and at a number of other most important points in Spain, the rebels were in the very first days crushed by the heroic detachments of the People's Militia. Having met with defeat at the hands of their own people, the generals began to transfer Moroccan units, the "Foreign Legion," to Spain, while their masters in Berlin and Rome hastened to save the situation by despatching their own armed forces.

Thus it was that there began one of the basest and most barbarous wars of intervention directed against the liberty and independence of a heroic people.

II

In the first stages the German and Italian interventionists did not come forward openly as belligerents, in the hope that the rebels would achieve rapid victory. But when it became clear that the Spanish people were creating their People's Army and would be able utterly to crush the rebellion throughout the country, they cast aside the camouflage. Since that time troops and military equipment have been sent to Spain without a break from Germany and Italy. And now, at the end of the second year of the war, German and Italian units occupy a decisive position among the troops carrying on the war against the Spanish people. The Italian and German Fascist army commands are the actual masters, both at the front and in the occupied parts of Spain. This point is already realised not only by anti-Fascists and outside observers in the West European countries, but also by many people now in the rebel camp. Many Spanish officers in the Franco camp have become clearly convinced that the real masters of the so-called Spanish Nationalist Army are the German and Italian Fascists, who arrogantly lord it in the occupied districts and behave there as though they were in a colonial country under their heel. And quite a number of Spanish officers in the Franco camp who raised their voices against this have been shot. These facts, I think, go to show more eloquently than many others who are the real belligerents.

The inspirers of the rebellion themselves have long ceased to hide the fact that they are waging war against Spain. At the very time when months have been spent in the "Non-Intervention" Committee on the search for methods to determine the number of foreign troops in Spain, Mussolini has publicly and repeatedly declared that Fascist Italy is waging war in Spain. He openly exchanges telegrams with his generals on Spanish territory. On March 19, 1937, there was published his telegram calling for victory at all costs and addressed to General Manzini. This message was addressed to just those "valiant legions" which were later routed at Guadalajara. In August, 1937, after the fall of Santander, Mussolini despatched new telegrams to those in command of the Italian troops, in which he said that: "Italy is proud to have succeeded in waging war on Spanish territory." Just recently, on July 10, there was published in Mussolini's mouthpiece, the *Popolo d'Italia*, an article of his, in which he talks brazenly of the war being waged by the troops of Italian Fascism in Spain. "Our battalions, which have only just returned from the conquest of Abyssinia, have had to depart once again for Spain"—such is the statement of the chief himself of the Fascist barbarians who are spreading death on Spanish territory.

Lists are published in the Italian press of officers and men of the expeditionary units killed in Spain. Just recently the entire Italian press published the official statement (without a doubt very much understated) that during the period of the war in Spain the number of Italian airman killed was 120, the number taken prisoner 21, and the number missing 9. Italian generals write articles to the press about the military operations in Spain, in which they do not even consider it necessary to pretend to be Franco's

" advisers," but come forward as avowed and brazen Fascist conquerors.

The German Fascists have also long ceased to hide the military operations against Spain behind the fig-leaf of Non-Intervention. And really, it is ridiculous and impossible to hide such facts as the dispatch from Germany and Italy of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, thousands of aeroplanes, tanks, and of the endless stream of shells and other types of military equipment.

At the very moment when decisions are being taken in the Non-Intervention Committee about the means of withdrawing volunteers from Spain—and the real volunteers fighting on the side of the Spanish people are cynically put in the same category as the regular army corps of the Fascist intervention—new military forces are being transferred to the Levant front from Italy and Germany.

The interventionists are openly preparing a combined sea, land and air drive against Valencia.

One needs to possess the really unparalleled hypocrisy of Lord Halifax and Mr. Chamberlain to deny the presence in Spain of troops of intervention, the destruction of Spanish towns, the wiping out of women and little children, the sinking of merchant ships by Italian and German bombing planes, and to assert that all that is going on in Spain is an internal struggle between the Spaniards themselves, in whose affairs the League of Nations and the countries interested in the maintenance of peace should not intervene.

Is it not clear to every person not desirous of closing his eyes to stubborn facts, that the pro-Fascist clique of the British Conservatives and of their allies in the camp of French reaction bear no small share of the responsibility, together with the Fascist aggressors, for the horrible suffering and numberless sacrifices of the Spanish people.

Our Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, that tribune of the heroic Spanish people, is a thousand times right when she says:

> " The blood of the children, women and men who were murdered during these tragic days is upon the head not only of the traitor Franco, not only of Hitler and Mussolini. There are many people in Europe who, however much they may seek for waters of Jordan, will not be able to wash their hands clean of innocent blood."

III

The two years of the struggle in Spain have brought to light new tremendous popular forces, which have proved not only capable of withstanding the offensive of the Fascist hordes, armed though they be to the teeth, but have shown their unswerving determination to carry on the struggle to the end and win victory over Fascism.

Republican Spain, as is well known, began the struggle in exceptionally unfavourable conditions from the military point of view. The masses of the people had not undergone the schooling of the world imperialist war, had no experience in the conduct of positional warfare and many other forms of modern defence. The Republican Government proved to have very few commanding personnel and very poor military equipment. And yet, despite all these difficulties, the Spanish people have for two years already been staunchly defending their liberty and independence.

At the outbreak of the rebellion the Republic possessed very insignificant military forces, several thousand armed men, in actual fact. Now it has an army of half a million men, an army steeled in battle, one that has undergone many difficulties and is learning the art of the conduct of modern warfare. New commanding personnel have been established, closely bound up with the people, selflessly defending their interests, and successfully mastering the complicated military art.

The war industry is being organised, and the entire economy of the country is placed at the service of one aim, namely victory over the enemy.

Despite the tremendous military and technical superiority of the forces of intervention, and a number of partial defeats, the Republican Army has also won during these two years tremendous victories such as will go down in history for all time. The rebels have on dozens of occasions hurled their storm detachments against Madrid. They have attempted to crush it by land and by air, on more than one occasion have loudly announced the capture of Madrid, and in this regard have sent out banquet invitations. But nothing has been able to shatter the heroic resistance of the People's Army. Madrid has become the symbol of impregnability, the stronghold of Spanish liberty and independence, an example now being followed by Valencia and Barcelona. The Republican Army inflicted a severe blow on the armies of intervention at Guadalajara, it smashed their plans of a general offensive by capturing Teruel, and in many other cases displaying heroism and the ability not only to take the defensive, but also to pass to the offensive. It has succeeded in checking the offensive on the Aragon front, in localising the breach, in upsetting the plans of the intervention makers who calculated on inflicting a crushing blow on the Republican Army.

In all these successes the decisive role belongs to the United Proletarian and People's Front. For a number of years the Communist Party of Spain—the initiator of the Popular Front—has conducted a consistent and persistent struggle for the unity of the Spanish proletariat, for rallying all the forces of the people against reaction and Fascism.

The unification of the workers' organisations and the mustering of the forces of the whole people took

place step by step. The beginning of 1935 saw the successful completion of negotiations between the Unitary Confederation of Labour and the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union), and by the end of the year their amalgamation took place. At the end of 1935, contact committees were established throughout Spain between the Communist and Socialist Parties. In January, 1936, the People's Front was established, covering the Communist and Socialist Parties, the U.G.T., the Republican Left, the Republican League, the Party of the Catalan Left, and other organisations. In April, 1936, the Communist and Socialist Leagues of Youth were merged into a single organisation. In July of the same year four parties—the Catalan Socialist League, the Catalan Federation of the Socialist Party of Spain, the Proletarian Party of Catalonia and the Communist Party of Catalonia—joined forces in Catalonia, and out of them established the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

In March, 1937, all the youth organisations in a number of provinces in Spain—the United Socialist League, the Anarchist and Republican organisations —formed Youth Alliances, while in September of the same year a National Youth Alliance was established covering all the youth organisations in the country. In August, 1937, a programme of joint action was adopted by the Communist and Socialist Parties. In March, 1938, unity of action was established between the U.G.T. and the Anarcho-Syndicalist C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour), while in April the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) joined the People's Front.

Thus the Spanish working class, by overcoming the difficult heritage that divided its forces in the past, has consistently established a firm basis for the unification of the Spanish people in the struggle against the Fascist rebels and the forces of intervention. The severe trials of the war and the danger of the Fascist enslavement of Spain hastened on the completion of this process.

The entire course of the struggle of the Spanish people has provided incontrovertible confirmation of the correctness of the People's Front policy. It was precisely the establishment and consolidation of the People's Front that rendered it possible to rally together all the vital forces of the Spanish people, despite the previously existing deep political and other differences in their ranks.

Thanks to the People's Front, the Spanish people have been able to establish their People's Army, which has proved capable of withstanding the onslaught of the technically superior armies of the Fascist intervention. The People's Front of struggle against the Fascist rebels and the forces of intervention has strengthened the solidarity in the struggle between the Communists, Socialists, Anarcho-Syndicalists, Republicans and non-party people in the army and behind the lines, despite the unceasing disruptive work by the Caballero clique, the agents of the so-called "Fifth Column," and of the Trotskyist bandits. Had there been no People's Front, the Spanish people would long ago have been internally disorganised, crushed and enslaved by the Fascist invaders.

It is no accident that all the enemies of the Spanish Republic at home and abroad have exerted, and continue to exert, all possible efforts to spread and inflame mutual distrust and discord between the parties and organisations belonging to the People's Front, so as to undermine confidence in their Government, to disrupt the People's Front itself. For this reason, on the occasion of the second anniversary of their struggle, the Spanish people thoroughly appreciate, now more than ever before, the need to maintain and further consolidate the People's Front—the basis of their unity, the main source of their defensive power and the first condition of victory in their war of national liberation against the Fascist plunderers. And there are no grounds for doubting that the working class of Spain, the entire Spanish people, will guard the inviolable unity and solidarity of the People's Front as the apple of their eye.

IV

The heroic struggle of the Spanish people is of enormous international significance. It has held back, and continues to hold back, the outbreak of a new world war. Had the German and Italian Fascists succeeded in achieving in Spain the rapid victory they contemplated, this would undoubtedly have resulted in a tremendous intensification of the effrontery and aggressiveness of these war-mongers towards other nations. And on the other hand, had the Governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries really fulfilled their elementary international obligations to the Spanish Republic, to the extent merely of lifting the blockade, giving Spain the right to purchase arms, then the victory of the Spanish people, that would undoubtedly have followed, would have effectively assisted in curbing the Fascist aggressors and would have dealt a very severe blow at their plans of kindling the flames of a world war.

There also can be no doubt that the splendid example of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people has exerted irresistible influence over other nations threatened with Fascist aggression. These nations are on their guard against the Fascist menace, they have no desire to be caught unawares by the arrogant plunderers. They have no desire to place themselves at the mercy of the aggressors, but, on the contrary, are preparing to defend their liberty and independence. Fascist plots have been crushed in the very embryo in a number of countries. The plot of the French Cagoulards was uncovered while still in

its preparatory stages. The Fascist coup of General Cedillo in Mexico was quickly crushed by the Cardenas Government, basing itself on the support of the Mexican people. Even in countries with reactionary Governments, such as Rumania in the Balkans and Brazil in South America, the attempts of Hitler's supporters to carry through coups d'état came up against resistance and ended in failure.

The influence of the Spanish example can also be seen in the determination of the Chinese people to resist the Japanese invaders with all means in their power, and in the readiness of the Czechoslovak people resolutely to defend themselves against the menace to their independence coming from German Fascism.

The war in Spain is giving rise to growing mass indignation and discontent in the countries of the Fascist aggressors themselves. The masses see before their very eyes how bankrupt are the repeated assertions made by the Fascist Governments about easy victories on the Spanish fronts, about the speedy end to the "expedition to Spain." With every month that passes, the war is making itself felt with increasing force. It brings privation to millions of the working people of Italy and Germany. The Fascist Governments are unable to hide the hundreds and thousands of men killed, wounded and crippled away from the people. And before their eyes rises the horrible nightmare of the last world imperialist war. Millions of people are thinking that if things should continue this way, if Fascism is given its head in Spain and in other countries, then a similar fate threatens them tomorrow of being crippled and killed themselves.

The news that penetrates, despite all the obstacles raised by the Fascist dictatorship, indicates an increase in anti-war, anti-Fascist sentiments and actions. There are many facts already of action taken against the "Spanish war," not only by working people in Italy, but also by Italian troops. The Fascist army command already shoots dozens of men for refusal to obey orders, and sends back to Italy entire shiploads of "unreliable" units. If it is borne in mind that the Fascist authorities send to war the units that they have drilled most and are from their point of view the most reliable, then all the facts of the action taken against the war show that more serious events are near in the Fascist countries. Spontaneous mass actions break out now in one, now in another part of Italy, when troops are being dispatched to Spain or on the arrival from that country of wounded soldiers. In many towns leaflets and slogans are circulated protesting against the war and the privation it has brought to the working masses.

Similar processes are taking place in Germany as well. There, as in Italy, anti-Fascists, despite the furious terror of the authorities, collect funds for the Spanish people and pass them on to Spain. Action against the dispatch of troops and arms to Spain are becoming a more and more frequent occurrence in German factories and workshops. In Essen, the centre of the war industry, one can see on the factory walls the slogan: "Hangmen, hands off! The Spanish people will themselves guide their own destiny." The Fascist authorities are seriously concerned at cases of damage done to the death dealing weapons sent to the Fascist rebels. New prisoners have long ago made their appearance in Germany's concentration camps, interned there for action taken against the war in Spain.

The mothers, wives and children of the soldiers sent to Spain and of those killed there, direct their anger against the Government. In the conditions of the present war no Fascist rulers will succeed in diverting this wrath against the "enemy" as was the case during the imperialist war of 1914-1918, since the bandit character of the war and of the offensive of Fascism against a people, defending its liberty and independence, is too obvious. And every day of the war brings with it increasing wrath and discontent among the masses of the people, against the intervention in Spain and those responsible for it, Hitler and Mussolini.

The onslaught of the bloc of Fascist aggressors on Spain, and the resolute resistance put up to them by the Spanish people, have increased to an exceptional degree the will of the masses of the people in other countries to resist Fascist aggression, and have given rise to a big upward trend of the anti-Fascist movement throughout the world. The struggle of the Spanish people, and the international solidarity campaign, by clearly showing the urgent need for united action by the international proletariat, is one of the powerful factors hastening on the process of the abolition of the split in the ranks of the Labour Movement. The ground is increasingly slipping from under the feet of the opponents of working-class unity. and the number of supporters of unity and of fighters for the establishment of international proletarian unity in the struggle against Fascism and war is growing apace in the ranks of the Socialist Party and the trade unions.

The working people of all lands will draw many valuable lessons from the Spanish events, and above all the one of which the Communists tirelessly remind them, namely, that the struggle against Fascism must not be postponed, the Fascist danger must not be underestimated. Fascism must be opportunely countered by the forces of a united working class and of the widest masses standing solid in an anti-Fascist People's Front.

To dally in this matter, to fail to see the danger of the Fascist offensive and of plots, means to facilitate the vile cause of Fascism and thereby to inflict great sacrifices on the working masses.

Long before the rebellion the Communist Party of Spain uttered a warning about the action prepared by the Fascists, pointed to their disruptive work directed against the Spanish people, to the threads linking the plotters within the country to their German and Italian instigators. The Communist Party called for the removal of the reactionary generals, for the arming of the people and for the adoption of other effective measures whereby to defend the Republic.

Is there anybody now who can dispute the fact that had the ringleaders of the Fascist coup under preparation been rendered harmless in good time, this would have saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. The plans of the Fascist aggressors would have been smashed. Spain would not have been subject to its present ruin and severe trials.

Now, therefore, when the Communist Party of France calls on the people to be vigilant, exposes the Cagoulards and other Fascist plotters, when the Communists of Czechoslovakia energetically oppose the designs of Hitler's agents, when the Communists of Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and other countries call on their peoples to take timely action against the threatening menace of Fascist aggression, when the Communists in England point to Chamberlain's ruinous policy, the example of Spain should rise up before the eyes of the working people. This example should make them take heed of what the Communists say and rally the masses of the people with still greater energy to the struggle against Fascism in their countries.

V

In their heroic struggle the Spanish people have met with the support of the working class and anti-Fascists throughout the world.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, the great land of Socialism, are resolutely on the side of the Spanish people. The Soviet Union, by its peace policy and by the stand it has taken in international bodies is steadfastly striving to bring about the end of Fascist intervention in Spain, and provides an example of effective struggle to curb the Fascist aggressors and maintain world peace.

International solidarity has found expression in various ways, in the sending of foodstuffs and medical supplies, the evacuation and fraternal reception of Spanish children, demonstrations in defence of the Spanish Republic and protests against the destruction of the peaceful towns of Spain, demands for the withdrawal of the troops of intervention, partial prevention of the loading of war materials, boycott, cases of insubordination, etc.

In the most decisive days, when mortal danger hung over the capital of Spain, fighting alongside the Spanish fighters by the walls of Madrid were the International Brigades, made up of the best sons of the international proletariat. They have played a considerable part in beating off the Fascist hordes.

However, the working class and the anti-Fascists of the bourgeois countries have not yet been able to secure the thing most necessary to the Spanish people, namely, the right to the free purchase of the necessary means of defence; they have failed to secure the lifting of the blockade of Republican Spain; they have been unable to overcome the ruinous policy of non-intervention; they have failed to bring about the cessation of direct and indirect support for the Fascist interventionists by the decisive West European Powers.

Now, at the end of the second year of the war in Spain, it should be pointed out that the working class of the capitalist countries have not yet thoroughly fulfilled their duty to the Spanish people, engaged in defending against Fascist aggression the democracy and peace of all countries. It must be said outright that during these two years the Spanish people have done more for the defence of the cause of *world* peace and progress than has been done till now by the working people of the capitalist countries in support of the Spanish people.

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the heroic struggle in Spain, it is the duty of every Labour organisation, of every individual active in the Labour Movement, of every honest anti-Fascist politician to examine the causes that prevent adequate and effective aid being rendered to Republican Spain and that prevent the working class from fulfilling their full duty to the Spanish people.

The Socialist parties have adopted quite a number of good resolutions regarding aid to the Spanish people, but are far from having taken the necessary steps to secure their fulfilment. What is more, they systematically permit leaders of theirs who not only occupy ministerial posts in the Governments of a number of countries, but even heads of such Governments, to conduct an entirely opposite policy.

This policy of official representatives of the Second International led to such a noteworthy fact as that the British bourgeois politician, Lloyd George, when recently on a visit to Paris, exhorted the leaders of the Socialist Party of France and of the Second International about the need for supporting Republican Spain. He "explained" to the Socialist leaders that the seizure of Spain by Germany and Italy would serve as a starting point for them to undertake a military attack on France and to kindle a world war; that after having occupied the Spanish provinces bordering on France, German troops are beginning to raise fortifications and to prepare bases on the Pyrenees for an attack on France; that the German Army Command already possesses important positions in Gibraltar; that the German and Italian navies

consider themselves to a considerable degree to be fully fledged masters throughout the Mediterranean.

As is well known, the Communist International has on many occasions made approaches, directly and through its representatives, Comrades Thorez and Cachin, to the Second International for the organisation of joint action against the Fascist intervention and in defence of the Spanish people. Joint action by the parties and trade union organisations of the international proletariat would create such a tremendous movement in all countries as would change the entire international situation in the briefest space of time, would bar the way to the offensive of the Fascist aggressors, and would surely facilitate the liberation both of the Spanish and Chinese peoples from the Fascist invaders. Such a movement would lead not to the large-scale war with which Hitler and Mussolini scare the bankers and hucksters of England and France, but on the contrary, would be the most certain means of curbing the unbridled Fascist aggressors and would be the best guarantee for maintaining world peace.

But on every occasion when the Communist International has addressed its proposal for joint action to the Second International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the representatives of these organisations have congregated at conferences, adopted declarations of solidarity with the Spanish people, uttered wordy invocations against the blockade of Republican Spain, but have stubbornly refused, under the influence of reactionary British Labour Party and trade union leaders and their myrmidons in other countries to agree to organise the united action of the world proletariat that alone can produce the necessary positive results.

Yet the past two years of war in Spain have provided adequate proof of the fact that it is not by wordy invocations against the blockade of Republican Spain, not by paper protests against the Fascist aggressors, not by exhortations to pro-Fascist politicians in England and France that real aid can be given to the Spanish people. This requires that specific action be undertaken by the forces of society and particularly united action by the world proletariat. He who desires really to see the end of the destruction of peaceful towns in Spain, of the murder of women and children, who desires to have the Fascist violators driven out of Spain, and to see the establishment of a firm barrier against the outbreak of a new world imperialist war, must take action. It is not difficult to find the organisation and form of this action; life itself, the experience of the Labour Movement itself prompts them.

The end of the second year of the war sees the Spanish people exerting all their energy, mobilising all the country's means and resources for resistance to the Fascist invaders. The Spanish people are heroically enduring unheard-of privation and sacrifice, overcoming tremendous difficulties, in beating off the attacks of the Fascist barbarians who are armed with all the most up-to-date means of destruction.

In the course of this struggle the Spanish proletariat and anti-Fascist fighters have to rebuff the faint hearts and waverers, to crush the Trotskyist and other Fascist agents. The men of the Republican Army of Spain, fighting at the walls of Madrid, on the Levante front, in the Pyrenean mountains and along the coast line, are fighting against the worst enemies of the whole of working mankind. The blood, shed by them and their brothers, rouses other peoples to the struggle against Fascism. Their heroic struggle brings new heroes forward in the most distant corners of the earth, on the fields of the great land of China, in distant Mexico, and in the very camp of their mortal enemies, in the Fascist countries.

It is now up to the international proletariat!

Everything must be done to ensure the victory of the Spanish people, for as Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the working people, pointed out in his telegram to José Diaż, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain:

> "The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the Fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

To fulfil this common cause of advanced and progressive mankind—the liberation of Spain from the yoke of the Fascist reactionaries—means, in the present international situation, not only to render aid to the Spanish people, to assist most decisively in defending Czechoslovakia against German Fascism, and in achieving victory for the Chinese people over the Japanese invaders. It means, also, to bar the way to further acts of aggression and slaughter by barbarous Fascism, it means to maintain world peace.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE CHOSEN OF THE PEOPLE

FOR the first time, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic has met, the session lasting from July 16 to July 20. There were 727 deputies, representing constituencies in an area which extends from India to the Arctic Ocean, from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific. They represent the Russian people, whose working class, under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, was the first in the world to realise in fact the life-work of Marx and Engels. They represent the 37 different peoples who live in unbreakable, fraternal community with the Russian people in this area, the greatest of the 11 Soviet republics.

The Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. is a parliament the like of which can exist only in the country of Socialism.

The gates of the bourgeois parliaments
Swing wide open to a golden key;
But in the Soviet land only talent,
Labour and achievement may gain an entry.
Now the people has sent to its Soviet government
The masters of all crafts, callings.
There can be no better government of mankind,
No warmer love of country.
Where else may you see miners and singers,
Masons and explorers—no barriers dividing—
Leaders and milk-maids, brotherly together?
Where else could such an assembly be found?

So spoke in verse one of the deputies, the poet Lebedev-Kumach, at the session. And here the author of popular songs of the Socialist era, as sung by millions, has happily expressed the conception represented by the Soviet-Parliament.

In this Soviet Parliament are the men and women who, in their daily working surroundings have ably represented the interests of the community, who by their lives and achievements, have given proof that they hold the interests of their Socialist country, the interests of the whole people, above all else.

In this Supreme Soviet, 339 deputies are workers, 195 are peasants. Of the workers, 248 are functionaries, of the Party or of Soviet bodies, or they hold leading positions in industry. Others come from the army. Of the peasants, 132 are engaged in Party work, local Soviet work or agricultural activity.

The average age of the members of the Supreme Soviet is considerably less than that of the bourgeois parliaments. Only 190 deputies, out of the 727, are over 40. The great majority of the deputies, then, are of the generation which came to an intelligent participation in political and social life after the October Revolution.

There are sons of the working class or peasantry in this parliament who, despite their youth, are no strangers to leadership. Whether they are factory-managers, chairmen of collective farms or of local Soviets, they are people who are accustomed to carrying on leading political activities, apart from their daily work.

Whoever accomplishes exemplary work—in whatever field of activity it may be—is working towards the further up-building of the Soviet state. A state which represents no interests contrary to those of the people transforms every act which leads to the improvement and renewal of social life and production into a political act.

The deputy Orlov, for example, is a bricklayer, and has been one all his life. He is over 40 years old. Orlov has worked out new methods in bricklaying which have made it possible considerably to accelerate the whole process of residential and school building in Moscow, and to solve the most difficult of all problems in the building industry: the lack of skilled workers and the inadequate utilisation of raw materials. It is obvious to anyone that the work accomplished by Orlov is not just bricklayer's work, but is of vital importance to the Socialist state.

At the head of the greatest railways of the Soviet Union are former locomotive engineers who, only a year or so ago, were still following their trade. They have discovered methods which have enabled the circulation of goods-trucks almost to be doubled. When these masters of their craft accomplished this, they contributed towards the life of the Soviet country something of decisive value, something which helps to transform for the better one of the most important aspects of the life of the Socialist state; and therefore the electors sent them as their representatives to the Supreme Soviet.

Most of the deputies are masters of labour such as these, reorganisers of the industries in which they have worked. For them, politics is no spare-time occupation, nor is it a profession; it is the extension and sublimation of their creative labour, and it has gained for them the confidence of the electors.

Together with these masters of labour, the model workers in all branches of production, sit the men of science, and, above all, the men who, in the fulfilment of leading work in the state, have shown that they are eminently capable of representing the interests of the workers and peasants, and of trans-

lating into actuality the boldest dreams of mankind.

The whole object of the bloc of the Communists and non-Party people is that all who see clearly that for humanity the sole path to freedom is by way of Communism shall be rallied around a clear and united programme.

In the Soviet Union, the term "government" or "to govern" means concern for the people of the country, for their happiness and prosperity, and for the development of their talents; for the growth of a new generation which is healthy and intelligent, and which will master all the knowledge which the varied activities of this vast land require.

The discussion on the formation of the government, therefore, consisted of a studied examination of the types of activity and work which would most directly meet the needs of the people.

In the course of the discussion, there was severe and detailed criticism of the work of the People's Commissars for Health, Education, Trade and Local Industries. The speeches did not resemble the interpellations in bourgeois parliaments, where, in the course of a debate on the budget, perhaps, various proposals will be dragged in; these were demands expressed by the electors, and conveyed directly by the deputies to the People's Commissars. The discussion did not rest upon the provision of resources to the commissariats, for they are already richly supplied, but with the better utilisation of these resources, the better organisation of service for the people. Criticism was severe and was based upon the practical experience of the deputies in their own constituencies. And the criticism was never devoid of practical proposals for improvement in the work of the people's commissariats.

The newly elected People's Commissars were given no *carte blanche*, but a serious admonition as to the direction and manner in which their efforts were to be exerted. From the very first moment, they were impressed with the responsibility which they had assumed before these, the representatives of the people. The commissar in charge of education for the R.S.F.S.R., for instance, was charged with giving practical proof—during the coming weeks of preparation for the new school year—that he had made good the earlier faults which the deputies had condemned. The deputies spoke to this high state official—who stands at the head of an army of over 500,000 teachers—with all the authority with which the unanimous confidence of the people had endowed them.

The Soviet parliament is Stalin's work. The bloc of the Communists and non-Party people bears his name; and rightly so, for the unification of a multifarious people in a bitter struggle against an enemy which had the whole world as ally, was his achievement. The testimonial to Stalin, renewed by the deputies, was a testimonial to Socialism which under Stalin gained the victory.

The conclusion of the session of the Supreme Soviet was an unforgettable and incomparable occasion of the reunion of the representatives of the people with the people itself. From the tribune of the Soviet parliament rang the voices of workers of Moscow and Leningrad, of a woman textile worker from the Tartar Republic, were once women had but the status of chattels. The words of these speakers, addressed to their deputies, reinforced that united will to which the election had already given expression.

The last word at this session rang out beyond the Soviet frontiers. Sun-tanned youngsters, glowing with health, in the uniform of the Red Army—infantrymen, cavalry men, tank drivers, aviators—and sailors of the Red Navy, marched briskly into the hall.

It was an expression of youthful, happy love of homeland, of the unbreakable will to defend this country, the sole country of Socialism.

"We have the strongest weapons," said one young Red Army man, "the strongest arms any army in the world has ever had: the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

Socialism is truth. The truth breaks through all webs of lies, all the wretched trickery of the enemy. The recent session of the Supreme Soviet of the R.S.F.S.R. made manifest the real unity and solidarity of a people which has freed itself from all class oppression.

SIR WALTER CITRINE, THE FRIEND OF CHAMBERLAIN

NO newspaper reader in Greater Britain is unfamiliar with the "belted knight" Sir Walter Citrine, who is Secretary of the Trade Union Congress. At one moment he is to be found leading the Trade Union Congress General Council to hear what the Prime Minister has to say with regard to the necessity of increasing arms production. There are people who say that this action was prepared by a series of preliminary conversations between Sir Walter and the Government. His memorandum outlining the arguments for rejecting the agreement arrived at between the delegation of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union is circulated amongst the delegates to the Oslo Conference of the International Federation. It appears that the memorandum was circulated without the consent of Sir Walter. It was intended as a "behind the scenes" directive to the reformist leaders and was not intended for circulation as a public document. Still no one produced any arguments against international trade union unity that were not already contained in the document of Sir Walter. He also distinguished himself by opposing a resolution approving the action of the Mexican Government in breaking off diplomatic relations with Great Britain. "Time and Tide," a weekly paper of Liberal complexion, described the action of Sir Walter regarding Mexico as follows:

"To add to the amusement of the cynical, Sir Walter Citrine is wrestling with the problem in all its beauty at Oslo. In a fine speech to the delegates of the International Federation of Trade Unions he declares that someone must stand up to the dictators sooner or later. Mexico, which stood up to Franco when England didn't, is also standing up to the British bondholders. It wants a resolution of support from the comrades of the I.F.T.U. Sir Walter says he must consult London. But *who* in London? He knows to perfection how the minds of his T.U.C. will work for he moulds that mind. It seems that he will consult the Government."

It appears that "Time and Tide" does not know exactly what kind of a government is ruling in Mexico, but it does know what kind of trade union leader Sir Walter Citrine is.

Who is Sir Walter Citrine? He was born in Liverpool in 1887, and was educated in an elementary school. On leaving school he learned the trade of electrician. In his spare time he studied office management and is to-day one of the most efficient office organisers amongst the bureaucracy.

He was a member of the Independent Labour Party in Liverpool for a number of years but his main activity was in the trade unions.

At the age of 27 he was the chairman of the Liverpool District Committee of the Electrical Trades Union and a few years later became the president of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation in the Liverpool area. In 1920 he became assistant general secretary of the Electrical Trades Union. In 1926 on the death of the late Fred Bramley, he became the general secretary of the British Trade Union Congress.

It will be noted that Sir Walter has no great organising services for trade unionism to his credit. Whatever one may think of the reactionary attitude of such figures as J. H. Thomas and Ernest Bevin, they have at least played a role in building their trade unions. Sir Walter's name, however, is not linked with any substantial trade union achievement. His knighthood is not for services rendered to trade unionism.

Still, up until the general strike of 1926, Citrine could be described as a rising, young ambitious trade union administrator holding mildly "left" opinions. The general strike was for him, like for so many other trade union officials who had been playing with left phrases, a decisive point in his development. He saw that he had either to become a full-fledged revolutionist or an ordinary right-wing trade union official, practising and preaching class co-operation and he unhesitatingly chose the latter.

His first triumph from the standpoint of the right-wing bureaucracy whose pliant instrument he had become was his defence of the betrayal of the workers in the General Strike of 1926. He then became an eloquent advocate of co-operation between capital and labour.

In a report of the 1928 Trade Union Congress, Sir Walter and his colleagues told the British workers that they had discovered a way of securing for the workers in industry "a completely altered status," that the way to securing this completely altered status was for the unions "to use their power to promote and guide the scientific reorganisation of industry as well as to obtain material advantages from that reorganisation"—in short to co-operate with the employers in the capitalist re-organisation of industry. At the Trade Union Congresses in 1928 and 1929, Sir Walter and his friends pushed this policy through in the face of all opposition. Alas when the 1929 Congress was endorsing this policy,

the economic crisis was already breaking out and capitalism was not in a position to take Sir Walter's advice on how to organise prosperity. The joint committees which were formed between the Trade Union Congress and two leading central federations of employers were soon broken up and the employers went ahead to destroy the second Labour Government and to lower "the status, security and standard of living of the workers." Never was a bankrupt and treacherous policy so speedily exposed. The status of the workers was not raised. Co-operation with the Capitalist class had at least brought him honour and prosperity.

Since the coming of Hitler to power in 1933 Citrine has been the reformist trade union expert on the question of fascism. His general view is that fascism is the reply of the capitalists to the advance of Communism and of left policies generally. "Every time they made a Communist they made a fascist" he told the Trade Union Congress in September, 1933. And so his policy is to co-operate with the capitalist class. Under his leadership the Trade Union Congress has made itself notorious for stifling every form of militant working-class activity against capitalism.

In 1935 amid the applause of the capitalist class—he receives his knighthood. A storm of protest arose in the movement and many demands for the resignation of Citrine. The worthy knight explained his position at the Trade Union Congress in 1935. The labour movement he declared had never declared against the granting of honours. Other people in the labour movement had accepted honours. A Labour government had given honours. Why should he not accept honours from the existing government? "It has been suggested," said Citrine "that my whole outlook on trade union business has been conditioned by my regard for the other class. I deny that. If it were true I ought not to be in your service and you are foolish for supporting a man of that type." Yes undoubtedly such trade unionists as support Sir Walter are foolish but many are beginning to recover from their folly.

Citrine was in the Soviet Union with the British Trade Union delegation at the end of 1924 and revisited the Soviet Union at the end of 1935. His book "I search for Truth in Russia" contains a grossly exaggerated picture of certain aspects of Soviet life. At the same time the gigantic achievements of the Soviet Union are either ignored or minimised. This book has become the textbook of anti-Soviet propaganda in Great Britain.

It is only natural that such a man should have been one of the chief supporters of the criminal policy of non-intervention and one of the principal apologists for the role of the British Government. "We believe," concluded Citrine, "that this policy (non-intervention) is the only practical policy that can be followed in the present position."

A few weeks later Republican Spain was receiving generous assistance from the Soviet Union, the Labour Party Conference was declaring against non-intervention, the International Federation of Trade Unions was about to abandon open support of non-intervention but the British Trade Union Congress remained quite passive on the question of Spain. At the beginning of 1937 the Spanish Socialist Party and the U.G.T. requested the Labour and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions to call an international congress of all working-glass organisations to discuss aid for Spain. As usual the British Trade Union Congress was in opposition to this proposal and it was turned down in favour of a conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International.

At this conference the contribution of the British delegation was to express "regret at the continued attempts to secure an all-in conference, which had the effect of diverting attention from the real issue of helping Spain and concentrating it on the controversial issue of the United Front." ". . . It was only right that the Spanish comrades and others should have it made clear to them that the British labour movement had gone to the utmost limits of their powers and influence to help the Spanish comrades to become victorious." (Report of Trade Union Congress, 1937). This was being said at a time when the General Council of the Trade Union Congress was resisting the development of a national campaign against the policy of the British Government and when the total amount of money raised by the British Trade Union Congress was only £40,000 or less than 2½d. per head per member of the trade union movement.

At the Trade Union Congress in 1937 Sir Walter defended the inactivity of the General Council. "I do want you to remember one point," he said. "Whatever we subscribe for Spain is a drop in a bucket. It cannot affect the situation in Spain materially in any shape or form. A few hundreds of thousands of pounds that can be raised in our international movement compared to the millions which the Spanish Government itself controls demonstrates at once the impossibility of our trying to take upon our shoulders a policy of that description." And so Citrine told the unions that if they could send more money they should, but it did not matter very much except as a gesture of solidarity. Truly a strange way of mobilising assistance for a government engaged in beating back a foreign invasion.

Then Citrine followed up to whitewash the policy of the British Government. "Coming to the next

point one of the speakers said that he could not understand my logical mind not seeing that the class interests of Franco and the class interests of the British Government were the same. As a matter of fact I have lived long enough to know that class interests do not determine everything. The thing called class solidarity is by no means as strong on the capitalist side as you think. The moment that imperial interests are seriously touched you will see whether class interests restrain our government from acting." This denial of the identity of interests and policy between Chamberlain, Mussolini and Franco makes peculiar reading these days when British ships are being bombed in Spain with impunity and when the British Government is doing everything to facilitate a victory for Franco.

But to whitewash Government policy on Spain was not enough for Citrine. In a later debate on foreign policy at the same Congress he proceeded to further defend the policy of the British Government. "I frankly ask those who put the argument," he said, "do they really believe that any British government would dare to pledge the forces of this country behind the fascist powers." Here the question of the pro-fascist role of Chamberlain is deliberately concealed. Of course Chamberlain will not—and indeed could not—openly pledge himself beforehand to give armed support to the fascist powers in war. But no one said he would. The charge against the Chamberlain Government was that it is helping the fascist aggressors. The British state was not putting its arms alongside those of the fascists on the Spain battlefield, but it was helping to defeat Spain in other ways. It was not bent on invading Czechoslovakia but it was helping to defeat Czechoslovakia in other ways. That was the real charge against the British Government and this Citrine sought to obscure.

True to his policy he has in late months sought to prevent the fullest mobilisation of the trade union forces against the Chamberlain Government. The standing orders of the Trade Union Congress contains a paragraph which declares: "In order that the trade union movement may do everything in its power to prevent future wars, the General Council shall, in the event of there being a danger of an outbreak of war, call a special congress to decide on industrial action, such a congress to be called is possible, before war is declared."

After the invasion of Austria the demand for a special congress to discuss the means of defending peace and helping the Spanish people grew in volume. Three important unions, the Miners, the Engineers and the Railwaymen demanded the calling of such a congress. The General Council under Citrine's leadership refused to call such a congress declaring that there was nothing that such a congress could decide to do that was not already being done. In replying to the General Council's refusal to call such a conference, Mr. Fred Smith, a right-wing leader of the engineers said: "What it means is that the movement's leadership tried to influence the government by means of deputations, debates in Parliament, questions to ministers, public meetings, demonstrations and manifestos, demanding a reversal of the non-intervention policy, arms for Spain and no bargains with the dictators, it can do more."

Mr. Smith suggested an embargo on the export of war material to aggressor countries.

There is no doubt whatsoever that an embargo on *all* goods going to Franco Spain could have been imposed by the unions, with the backing of public opinion in reply to the bombing of British ships.

There is equally no doubt that more could have been done to raise money for Spain. Two of the unions which have been foremost in demanding a conference, the Engineering Union and the Miners' Federation, have decided to raise £50,000 and £83,000 respectively or more than double the amount that the whole of the trade union movement has raised up till now.

At Oslo Sir Walter in resisting the affiliation of the Soviet Trade Unions to the I.F.T.U. declared that the Soviet Unions were not independent of the Soviet Government. It has been proved over and over again that the Soviet Trade Unions, whose officials are elected in a democratic fashion that is unequalled in any capitalist country, are not controlled by the Soviet State. There is no need for them to pursue a policy which is at variance with that of the Soviet Government because the Soviet Government is a workers' government. But there is need for the British trade unions to act in opposition to the policy of the British Government, controlled by the arch-enemy Chamberlain. But as far as Sir Walter is concerned he resists any and every attempt to get the unions to manifest their independence. What the British Government says to-day, Sir Walter will defend in the General Council of the Trade Union Congress to-morrow. We do not say that the British Government has officially appointed him as its spokesman, but he undoubtedly voices their views and in doing so he presents a policy which has become a menace to the dearest interests of the British working class. The workers of Great Britain, in the process of dealing with Chamberlain will require to deal with Chamberlain's equivalent in the labour movement.

THE NON-INTERVENTIONISTS INTERVENE

ON June 22, the London Tory *Daily Express* carried the following report on the destruction of the Spanish fishing village of Nules by German and Italian airmen.

"Ten thousand people once lived an easy-going life in this sunny fishing town of Nules.

"Then the bombers passed over.

"To-day is the fifth day that rescue parties have been working among the ruins searching for those who did not get out of Nules when they were warned to do so by the Government.

"It is not known how many are buried under the ruins, but it is certain that none is alive. . . .

"The town was first raided five days ago. . . .

"The town looked as if a giant rake had been drawn over it, its prongs tumbling down houses in evenly spaced lines.

"The planes then swung about and bombed the town from east to west—cross-hatching it with bombs.

"The destruction was almost unbelievable. Precious little life was left.

"Imagine the astonishment of the Government defenders yesterday, therefore, when a fleet of bombers reappeared, and hurled high explosive anew on the ruins.

"It is a simple fact that the town previously known as Nules has vanished in thunder during the last five days. . . .

"It is alleged that an Italian type of bomber did this deed."

Day after day, these cowardly butchers have, with bestial sadism, attacked and bombed Spanish towns and villages. Far behind the front, they have slaughtered women and children, old people and babies. Those German fascist hangmen—who recently murdered a young mother, Liselotte Hermann, on the scaffold—enjoy real feasts of butchery in Spain. While they invariably take to flight when the pursuit planes of the Spanish Republic appear, they revenge themselves upon peaceful populations, which they can murder in the mass without risk of their own lives. In gruesome rivalry, these thugs of German and Italian Fascism exert themselves to send to their leaders—who are so fond of having themselves photographed when posing with children—the figures of some new record in wholesale child murder.

The Chamberlain Government is far less affected by the Nazi sanguinary campaign against Spanish women and children than it is by the bombing of British merchant vessels and the murder of British seamen. While the French Government closes the Pyrenean frontier against the Spanish Republic, it tolerates Fascist planes flying over French territory and even bombing French towns. So long as the Fascists go on decimating Spanish towns and excelling all the cruelties of the Huns, the so-called democratic governments appeal to the principle of "Non-Intervention." But, the moment that the Spanish Republic announces the adoption of defensive measures against the assassins, these "democratic" governments begin to intervene with a loud outcry of protest.

After this repeated mass slaughter of peaceful populations, the Spanish ambassadors in Paris and London have made it known that the Spanish Government has decided on certain reprisals against the Fascist interventionists. According to a report appearing in the reactionary *Times* of London, Señor Azcarate, Spanish ambassador to Great Britain, stated that the objective of these reprisals would be the air bases which serve the invaders, rather than Burgos and Salamanca. To everyone who read this, it was quite obvious that by this the Spanish Government referred to the Italian air bases on the island of Majorca. The Italian Fascists also quite correctly understood this intention, and their press—led by the *Giornale d'Italia*—bluntly rejoined that Italy would consider any attack on the air-base at Majorca as an attack on Italian territory. It is true that in the "Gentlemen's Agreement," Mussolini promised Chamberlain that he would not take possession of nor maintain any positions in the Balearic Islands; but this has not in the least affected his continued occupation of the largest island of the Balearics, Majorca, which is virtually an Italian possession. The German newspapers at once came to the aid of their Italian confederates. The Berlin *Lokalanzeiger*, for example, wrote that, if the Republicans were to attack Majorca, German naval guns would once again speak as they had at Almeria. The Fascist murderers hold it as their right to destroy Spanish towns and villages with impunity, and to massacre the Spanish civilian population, but they howl "provocation" when those whom they attack resort, in desperation, to measures of defence.

But the most appalling aspect of the whole affair is that the "democratic" defenders of "non-Intervention" should at once go to the support of the invaders, and proceed shamelessly to intervene to the detriment of the Spanish Republic. Both British and French reactionary newspapers deliberately misrepresented the statements of the Spanish ambassadors, claimed in the face of common knowledge that the Spanish Government had threatened to bomb Italian towns, and exclaimed that this constituted "warlike provocation." The British and French Foreign Ministers behaved in a most agitated manner, and hastened humbly to assure the Fascist aggressors that they "disapproved" of the statement of the Spanish ambassadors. Gabriel Péri, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the Chamber's Commission on Foreign Affairs, made the following statements in *l'Humanité*:

1. Newspapers which supported Chamberlain

announced that Mussolini was prepared to restrict acts of piracy and to withdraw some of his mercenaries. This was a downright lie:

2. Chamberlain also had his press state that the Spanish government had decided to undertake reprisal, not only against Burgos and Salamanca, but also against cities of those countries which were Franco's allies. This, also, was a downright lie.

The rank hypocrisy of "Non-Intervention" had by now been converted into open intervention of the so-called democratic governments on behalf of the Fascist interventionists. The Spanish Government had never announced that it would bomb Italian or German towns; but even if it *had* done so, it would but have been legitimate self-defence by the injured party. Is there an international privilege which permits the Fascist Powers to attack other countries and to bomb peaceful towns? Is it purely a private affair when German and Italian planes bomb harmless villages to ruins, but, on the other hand, "provocation" if the attacked party in retaliation bombs the air-bases of the aggressors? Does international law prescribe that the Spanish Republicans shall witness in unprotesting silence the slaughter of their women and children, so as not to bring upon themselves Mr. Chamberlain's disapproval? Do the democratic governments consider that the war conducted by the Fascists against Spain—and China too—is no violation of peace, but that the measures of defence adopted by the attacked party constitute an act of war? Has the moral degeneration of the capitalist world proceeded so far that the murder of tens of thousands of mothers and children provokes merely a shrug of the shoulders, while any move—a hundred times justified—to defend these helpless ones immediately arouses "moral indignation"?

It is within the power of the British and French Governments to put an end to the bombing of peaceful towns and of neutral shipping, at any time they may so desire. At any time, they could, by means of a firm stand, overrule the Fascist Powers and prevent the massacre of the Spanish people. While the Fascists bomb cities and shipping, Chamberlain goes trout fishing, but his calm is instantly ruffled when the democrats on the defensive proclaim their intention of smoking out the murderers' burrows. This shows clearly what kind of "peace" Chamberlain is supporting—it is the peace of death, the "peace" imposed by the Fascist butchers on Durango, Guernica, Nules, and many other towns and villages, upon thousands of Spanish mothers and their children. And when the French Foreign Minister supports this policy, he is not serving the interests of the French people and of world peace, but rather the interests of the German and Italian Fascists who seek to encircle France by their seizure of Majorca and of positions in the Pyrenees.

The open intervention by Chamberlain and the French reactionaries on behalf of Hitler and Mussolini has revealed to the democratic peoples the wholesale fraud of "Non-Intervention." Chamberlain and his French colleagues may have caused the frontiers to be closed on Republican Spain, but in so doing they have opened the eyes of millions. In his magnificent declaration on June 18 in Madrid, Premier Negrin showed that to resist meant to take the path of victory. Only the determined resistance of the Spanish people to barbarous intervention, and the risistance of the British and French peoples to the policy of Chamberlain and his lackeys, can bring about the victory of democracy and humanity, and thus save Europe from war.

SWASTIKA AND CHRISTIANITY

THE Hitler Youth in Austria has put up for discussion a number of theses on Christianity. These theses are so to speak the ideological accompaniment to the persecution of the Catholics, to the torture and murder of leading Catholic politicians, to the ruthless oppression of every kind of freedom of opinion in Austria. We Communists are fundamentally opposed to all religions but we respect the honest religious convictions of all working people and defend the treasure of freedom of conscience which the humanists, the bourgeois enlighteners, the democratic revolutions and, finally, the working-class movement have wrested from the powers of reaction. The Soviet Constitution guarantees to all Soviet citizens full freedom of belief and of opinion. The historians of the Soviet Union, with extreme objectivity, have established that Christianity for hundreds of years played a progressive role. A play which denied this progressive role of Christianity against heathen barbarism was removed from the programme in Moscow. The great ideological conflict of the Communists with religion is not carried out on the plane of administrative measures, of vulgar falsification of history and philistine parson-hunting, but on the plane of the economic and political liberation of the working people, of the all-round advancement of true science and true culture. We Communists, therefore, support the fight of the Catholics and Protestants for their freedom of belief and opinion against the barbarism of Hitler Fascism. We regard all Catholics and Protestants who do not betray the people to Hitler

but defend its right to freedom of belief and opinion against Hitler as our fellow fighters.

In the theses of the Hitler Youth on Christianity we can discover not only a stupid and impudent falsification of history, but also a disgusting attempt to bring up the youth to brutality, ignorance and Fascist mysticism. For instance, in these theses there is the following:

> "Christianity is a religion of slaves or idiots. . .
> "The New Testament is a Jewish imposture on the four evangelists because its doctrine is copied exactly from the Indian doctrine of a Yishnu Christa. . . ."

The Fascist imposters who have plagiarised their "world outlook," if one may be allowed to call it that, from the obscure "Protocol of the Wise Men of Zion," from some books by Nietzsche, Sorel, Chamberlain, Moeller van Bruuck and from a mass of the worst backstairs literature, have really no ground for pillorying the authors of the New Testament as literary imposters. The New Testament differs from the literary productions of Fascism by the fact that it is a book which breathes the noble spirit of love of mankind and is rich in genuine social ideas. The Yishnu Christa, of which the theses of the Hitler Youth speak, may play an important part in the sick fancies of Herr Rosenberg and Baldur von Schirach—its influence on the New Testament is unknown to serious historical research.

From the theses of the Hitler Youth we discover some more historical novelties. It is said:

> "Before Christianity, German culture stood at a high level which Christianity destroyed. When the Romans were still using the hoe, the Germans were already using the plough."

Such rubbish is being put before the German and Austrian youth as a historical thesis. It is well known that the Teutons were still primitive barbarians without history, when the Romans not only used the plough but had developed a lofty and all-round culture. Thousands of words in the German language, the symbols of the most important cultural achievements were taken over into the German language from Latin, because the Teutons first learnt these cultural achievements from the Romans. The statement of Hitler-German historians that the Teutons were already acquainted with highly developed agriculture cannot be vouched for by any facts whatever. Even a German-National Professor of Agriculture, Theodor Freiherr von der Goltz, in his "Geschichte der Deutschen Landwirtschaft" (History of German Agriculture) stated:

> "Our forefathers learnt regulated husbandry from the Romans and partly from the Celts who were in Gaul and in some districts of the present German Empire."

In fact Christianity was the great bearer of culture which prevailed over Teutonic primitiveness and carried further the cultural inheritance of ancient society through all the terrors of the wanderings of the people and the destruction of culture in Europe. From innumerable descriptions by well-known historians we only gather what Johannes Buehler in his book "Die Kultur des Mittelalters" (The Culture of the Middle Ages) which is also recognised in Hitler Germany, formulates quite clearly:

> "Among the tribes which had survived the wanderings of the peoples, an active mental life only set in with the adoption of Catholicism."

Christianity did not destroy German culture but in truth laid the foundation stone of German culture. The Catholic Church later, through her close union with feudal landed property, by her princely power-politics step by step became a reactionary force. At the present time, too, the Spanish and Austrian Bishops who tread in Hitler's footsteps, embody this reactionary church policy to the misfortune and anger of vast masses of Christians. They are being opposed with growing consciousness by those forces of Catholicism which are connected with the oppressed working people and perceive that their mission more and more consists in defending European culture to which the monks of the early Middle Ages so much contributed, against the barbarianism which is breaking out anew.

In the theses of the Hitler Youth it is stated that the Bible is a continuation of the Talmud, although the Bible arose some centuries before the Talmud. It is further stated that in 1848 the Austrians were oppressed because the Catholic Church in Austria was very strong; the Germans meantime had gained a constitution. Apart from the fact that the revolution of 1848 was crushed in Germany just as bloodily as in Austria and the counter-revolution of Wilhelm I and Franz Joseph I were so alike as to be mistaken for each other, it is noteworthy that in these theses of the Hitler Youth a difference is made between Germans and Austrians, although according to a decree of the Hitler dictatorship there were never any Austrians. It is further claimed in the theses that Christianity introduced the idea of stealing and adultery, that the ten commandments are the expression of the lowest human instincts (apparently because they forbid murder, lying and stealing which belong to the fundamentals of National Socialism) and that Nero was absolutely correct when he organised the persecution of the Christians. For the first time Nero is here honoured as the forerunner of National Socialism and, in fact, one cannot deny that Nero who set fire to Rome in order to throw the blame of the conflagration on to the Christians, has much in common with the burners of the Reichstag. The Roman murderer of mothers, violator of boys, butcher of Christians and megalomaniac is a worthy model for the German Fascists. They have anyway far surpassed their model.

After asserting that a good people needs no saviour (but only a "Leader" who describes himself as the "Miracle of our Times" and allows himself to be honoured as the "German Messiah") and that the "new eternal centre" is to be found in Nuremberg the Hitler Youth in their theses rise to the following enormity:—

> "How did Christ die? Weeping on the Cross. And how did Planetta die? Long live Hitler, long live Germany!"

Planetta was one of the murderers of Dollfuss, who shot down the Austrian Chancellor and left him to bleed to death without medical aid. This contrast between a Fascist killer and the founder of a religion which preached kindness, love of mankind and social justice, is characteristic of Hitler Fascism. It puts as an example before the Youth not friends of the people and fighters for freedom but murderers like Planetta and bullies like Horst Wessel. The executioner's assistants who threw dice for the clothes of the crucified, correspond far more to the ideal of the Nazis than the man who died on the cross because he would not deny his faith and loved his people more than the Pharisees and the taskmasters of foreign rule.

We Communists are not religious; but we in common with all honest adherents of Christianity are determined to preserve the youth from Fascist brutalisation and barbarism and to defend the world outlook of humaneness against the world outlook of bestiality.

'ARYAN' MEGALOMANIA RECEIVES K.O.

HITLER Germany is always getting pushed backstage with its "noble Aryan race." It is not the German musicians but the Soviet violinists and Soviet pianists who come home with all the prizes from international competitions. It is not the German flyers but the Soviet, French and American pilots who achieve world records. It does not matter in what sphere the representatives of German Fascism measure their strength with those of other nations, the physical, cultural and moral decay of Hitler Germany becomes apparent. It is no wonder that the lords of Germany impatiently long for some sort of world success, some kind of world championship for, alone by persecuting the Jews, bombarding peaceful towns and the craven massacre of men, it is not possible to convince the world of the superiority of "noble Nordic man" over western and eastern "sub-men."

In this deplorable situation the German boxer, Max Schmeling was chosen to re-establish the race honour of the German Fascists with his fists. Schmeling had challenged the negro boxer Joe Louis to a match for the world championship. What a meeting for the "aryan" race fanatics: Negroes are just as much an abomination to them as the Jews. Hitler describes the nations for which he has a particular dislike not only as "be-jewed" but as "be-niggered." At the Olympic games in Berlin he refused to shake hands with the Negro winners, so that that hand so red with blood should not be exposed to the danger of "race shame." At last the day had come when the representative of the black race would be laid low by an "aryan" knock-out blow.

This great event roused Hitler Germany to fever pitch. Schmeling became a heroic political figure. For days the leader in the "Voelkische Beobachter" was not devoted to billingsgate directed against Czechoslovakia and hymns of hate against Bolshevism, but to the coming boxing match.

"The Boxing Match of the Century" wrote the editor for whom decades, centuries and milleniums are all very ordinary units of time. "Never has a sporting event been looked forward to on all sides with such excitement:" he boasted. Schmeling was described as the "worthy representative of Germany" and as the "best boxer in the world." To doubt in his victory amounted to high treason. With the "somnambulist certainty" which is a well-known feature of the German Fascists, the victory of the German boxer was prophesied.

> "He will faithfully play his part as challenger and will force the decision. Victory will beckon him the moment his right gets Joe Louis on the left jaw."

The "Angriff" is even more precise in its prophecy of Schmeling's victory than the "Voelkische Beobachter." It knew every turn in advance and saw with "somnambulist certainty" how the German boxer laid the negro low.

> "Max Schmeling will come out the victor. . . . It is probable that about six rounds will be needed in order to balk Joe Louis' plan of the fight. How long the bomber (Louis) will remain on his feet then is a question of his endurance. Two to three rounds should be enough for the brilliantly trained Schmeling, burning with the will to victory. We believe that a decision, ripe from the very first round is bound to be reached before the tenth round and cannot be other than:
>
> "Winner by K.O. and world heavyweight champion:
>
> MAX SCHMELING!"

These "aryan" words of wisdom, worthy of an old-teutonic oracle, were supplemented by dis-

paraging and hostile remarks about the negro boxer. The "Voelkische Beobachter" scornfully wrote:—

"The brown bomber is no great thinker, his intelligence is decidedly wanting. . . . This evening perhaps the brown bomber will for a change learn for once what it means to go into the ring with an inferiority complex. . . ."

The "Angriff" was even more blunt. It wrote about Joe Louis:—

"He thinks slowly, much too slowly to put up a strategic fight against an opponent better equipped mentally. . . . Who will be quicker on the spot, who will take quicker decisions, will muster up the greater heart? And here we come to the fighting morale of this evening's heroes. Joe Louis, a man of nature, thinking primitively, is fighting for his world championship, or rather, for the money which he can thereby earn. Max Schmeling, who has been living for a long time in secure circumstances is determined to win the laurels. He will bring back the world heavyweight championship to Germany."

For Hitler Germany this boxing match is a question of national prestige. The "Voelkische Beobachter" indirectly and the "Angriff" directly had to admit this. The "Voelkische Beobachter" had a message from New York:—

"All the write-ups are agreed that Germany regards a Schmeling victory as a question of national prestige as regards the race question."

The "Angriff" declaims:—

"And when, to-night, Schmeling, untroubled and showing his gleaming teeth as he smiles, springs over the ropes into the ring and paternally pats the black man from Alabama on the back, with all the superiority of his personality, then in Germany a stroke is already made on Schmeling's record of points . . . they punch as he punches, they give the same annihilating blows as he, they spring into the air as he does when he wins. They believe in him, in the same way and because he believes in himself: in his fists, in his will—in his cool head."

Let's bet, added the "Angriff," that Schmeling beats the negro and becomes the "greatest boxer of the century."

The Fascist yelp of victory only died down when the negro's punches rained down on the "aryan" boxer. The "greatest boxer of the century" was defeated with a knock-out blow in two and a half minutes. Joe Louis took the quicker decisions, and, to repeat the words of the "Angriff," "mustered up the greater heart." The Nazis never reached the point of "punching as he punches, giving the same annihilating blows as he." Every punch of the negro boxer was a punch against their race presumption; Joe Louis, whose slowness the "Angriff" jeered at, and whose "inferiority complex" the "Voelkische Beobachter" thought out, struck with such lightning speed that all the "superority complexes" of the "aryan" race fanatic collapsed in two and a half minutes. The 200 German Fascists who had expressly come to New York to be present at the victory of "their" boxer, after this brief proceeding, had to depart with long faces.

The insolent bragging of the "Angriff" turned into pitiable discouragement:—

"The negro hit out as if wild, and Maxe, our Maxe, on whom we had placed all our hopes, fell on his knee. Is it conceivably possible? We can scarcely believe it. . . . We are speechless and still hardly believe in this outcome. Maxe defeated in the first round! Shaking our heads and in silence we separate."

Very exasperated, the "Voelkische Beobachter" declares:—

"One thing must be stated very clearly: the defeat of a boxer does not mean any national loss of prestige; it is a battle lost only for the boxer who has to reckon in advance with possible changes in the luck of the ring."

Before the defeat the Nazis proclaimed their boxer as the embodiment of Hitler Germany in sport, after the defeat he sinks down into being an ordinary boxer who has nothing to do with national prestige. The "Aryan race soul" of German Fascism turns disgruntled from the battleground where "non-aryans" are allowed to take up the fight on equal terms; the persecution of defenceless Jews and the butchery of defenceless children is more their line of country than to be exposed to the blows of an opponent. The "greatest boxer of the century" disappears through the trapdoor and the "greatest leader of the millenium" will probably forbid German sportsmen to take part in international tournaments as he forbade German artists to take part in the contest for international art trophies.

Only under autarchy can the "aryan race soul" undisturbed give itself over to megalomania; when it comes up against the strength and ability of other nations, this race megalomania bursts like a soap bubble.

A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT BESPATTERS THE PEOPLE OF VIENNA

THE Czechoslovakian people is defending its liberty and independence against German imperialism. The workers and anti-Fascists of all countries and not the least among them, the Austrian workers and anti-Fascists stand in the forefront in this fight of the Czechoslovakian people. This makes it all the more disgraceful and revolting when a leader of Czechoslovakian Social Democracy takes it upon himself to let loose a flood of insults on the Austrian people. The leading article published by the chief Editor of the "Pravo Lidu," Joseg Stivin, on the 1st of July, supplements the hymn of hate of Vienna which Hitler sings in his book "My Struggle." In this article it says:—

> "Not quite half a century ago a popular poet of our youth stood on a peak of the Kathlenberg near Vienna. He saw Vienna below sprawled out like a strumpet, who lives from her constant and her accidental lovers and spreads moral and physical infection.
>
> "Since then Vienna has undergone many changes. But the poetic vision remains. At that time Vienna's lovers were the Liberals. . . . Then came Lueger with his Christian-Social anti-semitism. . . . Then Social Democracy fought its way through to power over Vienna and tried to make an honest woman of this prostitute. But it was hard work. This was mainly after the war with which Vienna had presented mankind in order for once to bathe herself in the blood of the nations. Then came the revolution in which Vienna bathed in the blood of her own people. At that time the famous strumpet was already regarded as ripe for the infirmary. She did not want to keep herself by honest labour, she wanted the "Anschluss," i.e., that others should keep her and look after her. At the price of the destruction of the working-class movement she created a government of the "Christian country of the Estates," as Dollfuss-Fascism called it, and when this path did not lead to the security of her life of idleness, Dollfuss was murdered and Schuschnigg brought forward, who, finally, brought Vienna to the place where she had wished to be since the end of the war, under foreign domination. . . ."

It is not necessary to defend the courageous liberty-loving people of Vienna from the dirty slanders of Stivin. If the chief Editor of the "Pravo Lidu" only got to know strumpets, idlers and thieves in Vienna, Vienna is not to blame; he can get to know the same scum of the capital just as well in Prague, Paris and London. Vienna is not the little dump of do-nothings and degenerates who loaf around in a few obscure night cafes. Vienna is a town of work and culture. In this town Mozart and Beethoven, Schubert and Johann Strauss presented the world with the greatest music, in this town there is a world famed school of medicine, this town has won world-wide fame through her art, her handicrafts and through the history of her fights for freedom. It was the people of Vienna, who in 1848 she its blood for liberty and with immortal heroisr resisted the Habsburg executioners. It was th workers of Vienna who, in the great fight for th suffrage in the first decade of the 20th century wo democratic suffrage for the peoples of the Habsbur monarchy. It was the workers of Vienna who, 1918, chased away the Habsburgs and with ind scribable effort strove to make good the damage the war and to build something constructive. was the workers of Vienna who on the 15th of Ju 1927, in the name of justice rose against a reactiona regime and went on to storm the bastille of t counter-revolution. It was the workers of Vien in February 1934 with arms in their hands wl defended the freedom of the people agair Fascism. It was the workers of Vienna who unc the most difficult conditions put themselves at t head of the popular movement against Hitler Ge many and defended the independence of Austria a with it the independence of Czechoslovakia. It is n the fault of the Viennese workers that the Reichswe 250,000 strong, conquered Vienna and thereby al destroyed a bulwark of Czechoslovakian indepen ence. But bold, fighting, working Vienna is nothi to Herr Stivin but a "strumpet ripe for the infirmary What a "Socialist" this Herr Stivin, who, for t revolution of 1918, for the expulsion of the Hal burgs and for the establishment of the Republic c only find the spiteful words: "Then came t revolution in which Vienna bathed in the blood her own people." What a "Socialist" this He Stivin who accuses the working people of Vien of not wanting to keep themselves by honest labo This accusation against the workers of Vienna w made previously only by the most hardfaced spok men of finance capital. Herr Stivin is the fir "Socialist" who has repeated this counte revolutionary slander.

To accuse the working class and the workin people of Vienna of a "life of idleness," to ignor the struggles of February, the obstinate fight agains the authoritarian regime which claimed so many victims, to disregard the popular movement agains the "Anschluss" with Hitler Germany, and to mak the industrious, courageous, unhappy people o Vienna responsible for the military occupation o Vienna—this monstrosity was left for the "Socialist" Herr Stivin.

But this is not all. Herr Stivin cannot refrai from spitting more viciously in the face of the people

of Vienna, fettered and beaten but nonetheless fighting against Hitler. He writes:—

> "We do not grudge Hitler Vienna. . . . Vienna, to keep to the poetic comparison, is to-day an old, decayed strumpet, rotted through and through who no longer expects love from anyone. She is content if someone only keeps her and pays her debts. This pleasure we leave to others. . . ."

Day by day hundreds of Viennese are arrested because they oppose foreign domination; more than 40,000 Viennese languish in prisons and concentration camps, the governor of that occupied territory Austria, Buerckel himself has to admit the difficulties which face the conquerors in Vienna—but Herr Stiven, unperturbed, says that the people of Vienna are content with foreign domination in Vienna.

We do not desire to examine the moral qualities of a man who is capable of senselessly calumniating and slandering an oppressed people delivered over to the most terrible sufferings. If this man were not a Social Democrat we would pass it over with silent contempt. But how Herr Stivin's newspaper only a few short years ago extolled "Red Vienna," how it honoured the Vienna working class—but now that Vienna is passing through the direst sufferings, she is for Stivin nothing but an "old, decayed strumpet, rotted through and through"! Instead of coming out on the side of Vienna, in the name not only of the most simple international solidarity, but also in the interests of the Czechoslovakian people this Social Democrat officiously hastens to refute the reproach of the German Fascists that the people of Prague feel themselves on the side of Vienna and with malicious joy approve the rape of Vienna.

The reason for this unexampled betrayal of the Viennese working class lies partly in the fact that the Stivins, who as always see the Communists as the main enemy, observed with ill-concealed rage the development of the Viennese workers towards Communism. Partly also the reason is to be found in the attitude of leading Austrian Social Democrats who have always disparaged Austria, who presented the conquest of Austria by Hitler Germany as something "revolutionary" and by this betrayal of the Austrian working people encourage betrayal by others. But the deepest reason is to be found in the fact that people like Stivin have nothing in common with Socialism, that they are reactionary philistines, narrow-minded chauvinists who regard the masses of the people with complete disbelief and disdain.

For Messrs. Stivin and his like there is only a Vienna of night cafés and prostitution—they regard the people of Vienna only as an appendage to the powers that be. With this they betray not only the fight of the Austrian people against foreign domination, but also the interests of the Czechoslovakian people which are backed up by this fight. For us, Communists, Vienna means the people of Vienna and above all the working class with its glorious fighting traditions, with its inexhaustible strength and courage, with its revolutionary ardour, with its proletarian loyalty and tenacity. The glorious fighting traditions of the workers of Vienna, of the Austrian working class whom Herr Stivin shoves contemptuously aside, are held in honour and carried on by the Communist Party of Austria. Let Vienna be just a "strumpet rotted through and through" for Stivin and his fellows, for us Vienna is the town of the revolutions of 1848 and 1918, the town of the storm of July and the fighting of February, the town which will throw off the yoke of foreign domination and will fight for and win the victory of the people.

IS HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF?

ON May 24 the former member of the Swiss National Council, Willemin, made a revelation in *La Suisse* regarding a highly interesting event. At the beginning of the World War, on August 3, 1914, the Federal Assembly had to elect the general command of the Swiss army. The Federal Council (the Government of the Swiss Confederation) put forward as candidate Colonel Ulrich Wille. The Radical-Democratic group opposed this choice most strongly. Colonel Wille had been brought up in Germany, he was related to Bismarck's family, and Kaiser William II had stood godfather to one of his grandchildren. On account of these facts the Radical-Democratic group rejected Wille's candidature. This decision of the group filled the Federal Council with consternation. The meeting of the Federal Assembly was adjourned for an hour, and under pressure from the Federal Council another meeting of the Radical-Democratic group was called. President Hoffmann urgently endeavoured to induce the group to withdraw its opposition, but in vain. Thereupon he made the following statement:

> "Gentlemen: As you persist in your opposition, I must draw your attention to a very serious fact. When Kaiser Wilhelm was on a visit to Switzerland two years ago, he gave a pledge to respect Swiss neutrality and the inviolability of Swiss territory in the event of war between Germany and France only on condition that Switzerland on its part pledged itself to appoint as general an officer who, like Colonel Wille, possesses the confidence of the German General Staff. Gentlemen, you now know what consequences may be involved by the rejection of the choice of Colonel Wille."

General Ulrich Wille was appointed.

What led the former Swiss National Councillor Willemin to disclose these facts to the public after 24 years' silence?

Hitler made a statement to the former National Councillor Schulhess to the effect that Germany would always respect the inviolability and neutrality of Switzerland. The *Berliner Börsenzeitung* of February 23 let out that this declaration was only given *under the condition that Switzerland itself did not compromise its neutrality*. What does that mean concretely? What conditions did Herr Hitler make? Already on January 31, M. Camille Gorgé, speaking in the name of Switzerland (and on Motta's instructions) rejected in principle the obligations, which had been solemnly accepted but already disregarded in the case of Italy, to take part in the application of Sanctions. Switzerland, he said, must declare itself absolutely neutral in the event of an attack upon the League of Nations and its members, *because otherwise its very existence was imperilled*. Imperilled by whom? M. Gorgé did not say. And there was no need. For every child knows by whom the existence of Switzerland is imperilled: by Fascist Germany and Fascist Italy. Obviously, M. Gorgé's speech was the preparation for fulfilling *the first condition* of Hitler's declaration of neutrality.

A new phase is beginning in the Swiss "policy of neutrality." Its first symptom is a sharp *restriction of the liberty of the press*. It is no longer permitted in Switzerland to write anything unfavourable to Fascist Germany. This is directed primarily, of course, against Communist publications, but the Social-Democratic press is not safe from attack either. On April 14 the *Berner Tagwacht* was "warned" on account of an article against Hitler and threatened with suspension of publication for a definite period. On May 27 the same steps were taken against the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Schaffhausen on account of an article entitled "The Brown Beast prepares to spring on Czechoslovakia."

A Swiss named Hans Vonwyl, a former member of the Fascist Front movement, brought out a book in the Europa publishing house entitled "The Experiences of a Swiss in Germany." It dealt especially with the methods used by the Nazis in Switzerland and showed how widespread the activity of their agents already was. In June the *Nationalzeitung* reported that the Europa publishing firm in Zurich would no longer supply this book to the Swiss booksellers, and stated that the publishers *had been compelled to take this step under pressure from the Federal authorities*. We repeat: it is not permitted in Switzerland to write anything unfavourable to Hitler Germany. That is clearly Herr Hitler's *second condition*.

And now comes the incredible thing. The appointment of a general under force of compulsion from Germany in 1914 is to be repeated! On April 25 the Federal Council decided to introduce a motion in the Federal Assembly that the general of the Swiss army shall in future no longer be appointed by the Federal Assembly (composed of the Council of the States elected by the Cantons and of the National Council, forming the Swiss Parliament), but by the Federal Council. The Swiss Federal Council wishes to make sure that it is able to "appoint a general who, like Colonel Ulrich Wille, possesses the confidence of the German General Staff," without being called on to give account of its action to the Federal Assembly. And once again, as in 1914, it is a Colonel Ulrich Wille who is to be chosen, a son of the old trusted man of the German General Staff, and a close friend of Rudolf Hess.

Will Motta and the Federal Council succeed in fufilling this *third condition* on which Hitler demands that Germany's respect of Swiss neutrality and inviolability shall depend?

It is clear that a further condition is that the German Ambassador in Switzerland shall be entrusted with the leadership of the National-Socialist organisations, which in any case already enjoy almost extra-territorial immunity for their activity. Obviously, the measures forbidding the Communist Party are in close connection with the conditions surrounding this very remarkable recognition of Swiss neutrality.

Recently an exchange of notes took place between Berne and Berlin. In the German and Italian notes, which were identical in text, it was stated:

> "The Swiss Government may rest assured that the desire for neutrality manifested by the Swiss Confederation will always be met by an equal desire on the part of the German (Italian) Government to respect that neutrality."

In order to leave no doubt what is meant by this formulation, Goering's paper, the Essen *Nationalzeitung*, wrote on June 25 under the title "The Duties of Neutrality":

> "It is not permissible that in the institutions which influence the public opinion of Switzerland to a very high degree an unceasing, one-sided agitation should be extensively developed. . . . By this means the Swiss people are influenced in a manner which is thoroughly incompatible with the lofty ideal claims of neutrality. . . . The public opinion of a country which through its neutrality statute enjoys such manifest advantages from the side of all its neighbouring States, must also respect this policy of neutrality. And part of that respect is a neutral reserve in judging developments in politics and philosophy of life in neighbouring States."

Hitler thus presumes to dictate to Switzerland as he thinks fit its "duties of neutrality." These "duties" extend from the suppression of newspapers to the appointment of a man in the confidence of Germany as the head of the General Staff. They will extend a very great deal further, unless all Swiss democrats resolutely defend the independence of their country.

GONE TO THE DOGS

UNDER Hitler's rule Germany has gone to the dogs. In increasing quantities, dogs are being slaughtered to feed the hungry people. In addition to the "Frankfurt sausages" filled with fish offal, stinking whalefat and substitutes for fat obtained from dish-water, dog's-flesh is now beginning to rank as a dainty. During the five years of Fascist dictatorship the consumption of horse-flesh has increased by no less than 120 per cent. and of dog's-flesh by 40 per cent. It will soon be the turn of the cats and the rats to translate the slogan of "Guns are more important than butter," into ever drearier reality. In view of such nourishment, it is no figure of speech to say that Hitler's rule lies heavy on the stomach of the German people.

The most important food of the people is bread. In the year 1928 about 10 million tons of corn were made into flour and consumed. In 1936 the consumption of bread was about 9 million tons, and in 1937 about 7 million. Bread made from wheat is increasingly being displaced by rye and mixed bread. The consumption of wheaten flour fell from 68.1 kg. per head in the year 1928 to 59.3 kg. in 1936. That is a fall of 13 per cent. And even pure rye bread is disappearing more and more. The consumption of "mixed bread" on the other hand, has gone up from 21 per cent. in the year 1935 to 50 per cent. in 1936. And what sort of bread "mixed bread" is, was revealed by the well-known French politician Archimbaud on his return from a journey through Fascist Germany. What is called bread in Germany, Archimbaud writes, is "an indefinable grey mixture, which is bleached with the help of chlorine. The consumption of such bread sometimes causes epidemics of poisoning." Butter, which is to be obtained in the best restaurants in Berlin, is he says, some kind of fish-oil. He rightly asks: "What must the food of the workers and the middle classes be like, if such things are served in the best restaurants of 'Unter den Linden'"?

Even according to the figures published by the Fascist Statistics Office, there has been a fall, in some cases *considerable*, in the year 1936 as compared with the year 1928 in the consumption of the following articles: lard, suet, milk, cheese, tea, coffee and beer. The decreases vary between 10 and 20 per cent. The consumption of spirits, on the other hand, was 76 per cent. higher last year than in 1932.

The suffering people dull their misery increasingly with bad spirits. Spirits begin to play the same part in Germany as vodka did in Russia under the Tsars. In the Soviet Union the consumption of bread made from wheat rapidly rises, and the consumption of spirits rapidly falls; in Hitler Germany it is the other way round. And while in Moscow the more coarse kinds of black bread are disappearing from trade because increasing numbers of buyers have been taking to the lighter and whiter bread, the people of Berlin have to swallow a bread saturated with chlorine which repeatedly causes poisoning. It is therefore no wonder that there was a scene at a German station when travellers returning from Moscow to Paris ate their provisions for the journey, which consisted of white Soviet bread and delicious Soviet butter.

Lackeys of German Fascism, calling themselves "scientists," declare in tones of emotion that bread made from wheat is an invention of "Liberalism," and that chemical substitutes are much more "wholesome" than meat, milk, butter and eggs.

The German firm of Chefaro Co., Ltd., Kleve (Rhineland) sends out the following circular from its department for flour refining:

"INSTANTO—GAS IN POWDER FORM

"Instanto, gas in powder form, protected by a number of patents, is the only process which combines the convenience and handiness of a powder with the advantage of bleaching by gas. As soon as Instanto comes into contact with damp air or flour (which contains about 15 per cent. moisture), a gaseous combination of oxygen is developed in a highly active form. Its immediate action enables the miller to give his flour whatever shade of lightness he desires and to control exactly the bleaching process. The bleaching gas quickly finds its way into every particle of flour, so that the flour only requires normal mixing. Instanto contains no clorine. Its bleaching power is due solely to the development of a combination of oxygen in an active form."

The bleaching gas which finds its way into every particle of flour is the forerunner of the poison gas which German Fascism is manufacturing for war. Bread with bleaching gas and death by poison gas is prescribed nationally to the Germans under Hitler's rule.

But the German people is of a different opinion. It would prefer not to get its foods from the retorts of the chemical industry, and it would rather set the dogs on its oppressors than eat them.

THREE YEARS AFTER THE SEVENTH CONGRESS

By P. WIEDEN

THREE years ago delegates of all Communist Parties met together in Moscow for the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

This Congress became an historical event. Amidst tense silence, attention, punctuated by stormy applause, Georgi Dimitroff developed the strategic bases for the struggle against Fascism and the danger of war. The resolutions of the Congress represented a bold change, of course, in the policy of the Communist International, a closer approach to the masses of the people of all countries and continents who, disturbed and anxious, were confronted by the offensive of Fascist barbarism.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International pointed out to the masses the way out from a situation filled with horror and menace, it made clear to the Communist Parties their great task: the realisation of the unity of the working class and the united struggle of all working people against Fascism, and showed them how to adapt their methods of struggle to the new world situation.

THE NEW WORLD SITUATION

It was, above all, necessary to make clear this new world situation to the Communists, to the Social-Democratic workers, and to the peasants and urban middle class, who were slipping more and more deeply into disaster. The victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the unparalleled crisis of capitalism, the defeat of the working class in Germany and certain other countries, the radicalisation of the working people throughout the capitalist world, the development of a great anti-Fascist mass movement, the growing menace of Fascism against democracy, peace, culture and all civilisation—all this had given the world a new aspect. This was no longer the world of 1918 or of 1929—this was something incomparable and unprecedented. On one-sixth of the earth's surface: victorious Socialism; in the heart of Europe: the Fascist dictatorship, a despotism of a hitherto inconceivable horror, baseness and fury; an unexampled awakening and radicalisation of vast masses of the people; the peril of a world war, in comparison with which the last world war would be but a curtain-raiser. All this demanded of the peoples, and particularly of the working class, decisions of tremendous importance. Confronted by this world situation, the workers, and in particular the Communists, had to weigh carefully their strength and their weakness, to study their enemy and to bring their friends closer, with the aid of painful experience to correct their errors and perfect their weapons, to work over new knowledge and to discover new forms of struggle. The immediate object of the Communists became the salvation of mankind from Fascist barbarism. They have become equal to this task, and have taken to heart the words of Comrade Dimitroff:

> "We want the Communists of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can b edrawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather."

The Seventh World Congress aided all revolutionary workers to see the world as it is, and to find strength with which to form it in accordance with our will.

FASCISM

When Comrade Dimitroff discussed, before the delegates of the Seventh Congress, the characteristics of Fascism, he impressed upon them that it was necessary to know thoroughly, and from every angle, an enemy of this kind.

Fascism is something new. It is impossible to arrive at its essence by the mechanical application of historical examples. It is neither "absolutism" nor "Bonapartism," nor just simply the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." The employment of historical labels of this kind serve merely to tone down Fascism's appalling particularity and can lead only to dangerous underestimation. Comrade Dimitroff dealt with all these false theories at the Seventh Congress:

> "Fascism is not a form of State power 'standing above both classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,' as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not 'the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the State,' as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, Fascism is not super-class government, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital

itself. It is the organisation of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, Fascism is jingoism in its crudest form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations." (G. Dimitroff: "The United Front," p. 11, Lawrence and Wishart, London.)

Comrade Dimitroff repeated the binding and conclusive definition of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.: "Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." In the course of the last few years the masses have had many opportunities of becoming convinced of the correctness of this definition. It is not the peasants —who are breaking beneath the burdens of coercive agricultural measures—who rule in Germany; it is not the middle class people of the cities—for they are being ruthlessly plundered and have not the opportunity of taking part even in municipal government (how much less, then, in national government!); it is not the lumpen proletariat, for their hopes were banished in the murders of the Storm Troop leaders on June 30, 1934; nor is it the entire bourgeoisie which rules, for considerable sections of the bourgeoisie look upon the Fascist terrorist regime with increasing horror. *The rulers of Germany are a group of large-scale capitalists and banking magnates, who draw their profits from war industries and who dream of transforming half the world into their colony.*

This small clique of capitalist criminals—who are enriching themselves, not only at the expense of the poverty of the masses, but also at the expense of the weaker sections of the bourgeoisie (the persecution of the Jews is part of this process), has taken unto itself a number of unscrupulous, swaggering, morally degraded adventurers, and a whole army of loafers, sneak-thieves, toadies, thugs and torturers, in order to bewilder, divide and forcibly suppress the people with the aid of this refuse of a decaying world. Finance capital has constructed a new State apparatus out of these elements; it exerts its unrestricted dominance with the aid of this bribed horde of district leaders, commissars, party bosses and Gestapo officials. But does this mean that these mercenaries rule their capitalist taskmasters? Just as little as do the gunmen, thugs and gangsters taken on by oil-capital control Rockefeller and Deterding!

Does *Hitler* rule over his capitalist taskmasters? He was, he is, and remains, their agent—even if he be an expensive agent, with his prima donna temperament and his week-end surprises. It is true that this form of dominance is a big gamble for finance capital, and very possibly Thyssen, for instance, is sometimes possessed by anxiety as to how it will all end. But this robber band, which now forms the top stratum of the bourgeoisie—sentenced to death by history as it is—can see no other way out except by this hazardous gamble. All this is an expression of the *profound crisis of capitalism, the far-gone decay of the capitalist world.*

As Comrade Dimitroff told the delegates at the Seventh World Congress: *"Fascism is a ferocious power, but an unstable one."* And then he proceeded to remind them of the words of Comrade *Stalin*:

> "The victory of Fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class by Social Democracy, which paved the way for Fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war."

These definitions are of the greatest importance, especially with regard to the fatalistic conceptions of a number of petty bourgeois and Social-Democratic politicians, who appear to think that Fascism is so strong that one can hardly resist it. The undeniable successes of Fascism are based, not upon Fascism's strength, but upon the weakness and timidity of its democratic opponents. The representatives of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie in Great Britain, France and other countries—Messrs. Chamberlain, Flandin, and so on—make concessions to Fascist Germany and Italy, not because they believe Fascism to be so strong, but because they are quite deliberately its *accomplices.* They are well aware of the fact that the democratic Powers, allied with the Soviet Union, are much stronger than the Fascist Powers, that, by resolute concerted action, they could, without undue effort, "withhold air and water from Fascism"; but the masses of the people are not yet sufficiently aware of this.

As a matter of fact, it becomes increasingly difficult for the Fascist Powers to conceal the fast-advancing process of decay within Fascism. In Germany, high officers of the army have felt themselves impelled openly to oppose the Fascist economics of crisis. Both the army and industry complain, ever more audibly, of the lack of skilled forces in the younger generation. Both goods and "human material" are deteriorating; the quality of industrial products steadily worsen; railway and other accidents, infant mortality, disease, epidemics, are rapidly increasing; corruption and moral disintegration have sunk deeply into the social structure; science degenerates; the peasants' cattle die by hundreds of thousands; among the people there is arising a mood which says, "There's no sense to it all—let everything go to pieces." Neither the amplified propaganda nor increased terrorism have been able to check the process of decay.

The opposition to Fascism must take care to expose its internal fragility at every opportunity. As against the wailing and lamentations of a number of petty bourgeois and Social-Democratic politicians, who support the Fascist myth of the "irresistibility" of Fascism, it is imperative that we inform the masses of the profound inner contradictions, the festering internal wounds of Fascism.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

As Karl Marx made clear, bourgeois democracy is also a masked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. But Fascism is not simply an intensification, a *quantitative* modification, of this dictatorship; it is *qualitatively*, in its essence, distinct from bourgeois democracy. Under bourgeois democracy, the working class and working people in general are also exploited and oppressed in many ways, but they can come together in their own defence in organisations, trade unions and political parties, they can struggle openly for their economic, political and cultural demands, they can defend their liberties, their human dignity. But Fascism proceeds systematically to destroy all the liberties and organisations of the working people, it rescinds the workers' right of free movement and with cold contempt tramples on all human dignity; it forces men and women, children and old people, into compulsory service for war, and transforms the entire country into a prison-house, a concentration camp.

Trotskyist agents of the Gestapo, and "Left" ranters, claim that there is no essential difference between Fascism and bourgeois democracy; capitalism, they say, is always capitalism. It would be as logical to insist that there is no difference between a cannibal savage and a civilised man, for "a man is always a man." At the Seventh World Congress, Comrade Dimitroff emphatically opposed this dangerous trickery, as follows:

> "The accession to power of Fascism is not an *ordinary succession*, to one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* of one State form of domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—by another form—open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilising the widest strata of the working people of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the Fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself."

The defence by the working class of bourgeois democracy against Fascism thus becomes an elementary necessity. Under all circumstances the worker's struggle is a struggle for the extension of democracy. One of the most important tasks of all Communists is, in the course of this struggle, to make the workers acquainted with the fact that the class rule of the bourgeoisie permits only of restricted democratic development, that only Socialism is capable of consistently realising all the conceptions of democracy, that *Soviet democracy* represents the highest and most consistent form of democracy in the world. However, this by no means implies that we must, under any and all circumstances, assume a hostile attitude towards bourgeois democracy. In the days of the Proletarian Revolution, the formulas of bourgeois democracy were counter-revolutionary, because they were directed, in the interests of bourgeois class rule, against the efforts of the workers to overcome bourgeois rule and lay the foundations for Socialist democracy. But even in those years of revolution, it was necessary also to make up for the non-completion of the bourgeois revolution itself, as, for instance, in Germany, in breaking the power of the Junkers. Nowadays, when confronted by Fascism, the formula of bourgeois democracy is progressive; it is correct to advocate the safeguarding of all bourgeois-democratic liberties of the workers and working people generally, the fruits of the bourgeois revolution and of the stubborn struggle of the proletariat within bourgeois democracy, from destruction by the Fascist rule of brute force. It is correct to defend from the onset of barbarism the culture, the customs, the humanity which mankind has won with such labour. It is correct to take steps to prevent the destruction of all human values, all intellectual and ethical achievements, and to protect mankind from an unparalleled catastrophe.

As Comrade Dimitroff said, three years ago:

> "We are adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the toilers, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties, which are being attacked by Fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate."

During the last three years the Communists of all countries have proved themselves to be the most stubborn and tireless defenders of bourgeois-democratic liberties, threatened by Fascism and bourgeois reaction. In Spain they have thrust back the provocateurs and "left" fakers who, with their agitation for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship and their pseudo-Socialistic experiments, had alienated the peasants and city middle class and rendered aid to the Fascists. They fight for the consistent realisation of a bourgeois democracy which, it is true, differs in a number of points from the traditional bourgeois democracy of other countries, such as Great Britain, for example. It is quite clear that in Spain there has arisen what José Diaz has called a "democracy of a new type." In a war which has already lasted two years, the people of Spain have shed their blood for this democracy, they have confiscated the stolen properties of the Fascist large estate owner and of the Fascist capitalist; the decisive influence in their democratic revolution

is the working class which is closely allied with the peasantry. All this has contributed to the specific character of the democracy which has arisen in Spain. It is a democracy which is more progressive, more developed, more social in its character, than is the old traditional democracy of Britain. It endows the workers and the masses of the people generally with far-reaching liberties and greater possibilities for protection against the Fascist enemy. In France and other countries, the Communists are fighting, not only for the defence of democratic liberties, but also for their extension, for the purging of the State apparatus and the army of Fascist elements, for measures restricting the robber gangs which represent finance capital. In the course of this struggle it is necessary to oppose, not only the "Left" demagogues and adventurers—who hide their concessions to the reactionary bourgeoisie or their aid to the Fascists behind a barrage of "revolutionary" verbiage—but also those curious democrats who would "reform" threatened democracy by means of restricting the liberties of the people, in order, so to speak, to anticipate the work of Fascism—to commit suicide out of a fear of death!

THE UNITED FRONT

The struggle against Fascism demands *the unity of the working class.* Fascism was able to win in Germany only because it was opposed by a divided, disunited working class. The close relationship of the reactionary leaders of Social Democracy with the bourgeoisie has brought about the division of the working class. There was no longer any place for the revolutionary worker in those parties whose leadership supported the imperialist war and hated the revolution like poison. The advance guard of the working class therefore gathered together in the Communist International. However, there were millions of Social-Democratic workers who did not at once become able to detect the truth about the policy of their reactionary leaders. They had become accustomed to look upon these leaders as the personification of their aspirations, they were bound to the old organisations by hundreds of tendrils of loyalty and tradition; they believed that the fault lay merely in tactical errors rather than in the *fundamentally* wrong policy of the leaders of their party, and therefore they remained Social Democrats. The reactionary Social-Democratic leaders thereupon designated the Communists as the splitters; exaggerated emphasis in the Communist Party fed this misconception among the masses, so that the reformist servants of the bourgeoisie were able to open wide the gap between the Social-Democratic and Communist workers. This division not only weakened the working class itself, it also strongly affected the power of the working-class movement to gain sympathy and support among the middle class and peasantry, and thus favoured the advance of Fascism. As was stated at the Seventh Congress by Comrade Dimitroff:

> "Fascism was able to come to power *primarily* because the working class, owing to the policy of class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organisationally disarmed,* in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand, apart from and in opposition to the Social Democrats, *were not strong enough* to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against Fascism."

The Seventh World Congress was a decisive step towards the unity of the working class. It laid upon the Communists the obligation of patiently and tirelessly striving towards unity of action with the Social-Democratic parties and organisations. It drove a great breach in the barrier which had been artificially erected between Social-Democratic and Communist workers—a breach through which Communists and Social Democrats could recognise their class comrades and extend to each other the hand of brotherhood. It faciliated the revolutionising not only of many members, but also of thousands of Social-Democratic party officials, and contributed materially towards the formation of a Left wing in the Labour and Socialist International.

Relations between Social Democrats and Communists have become essentially altered in a number of countries in the three years since the Seventh World Congress. The results of the united front in Spain and France are convincing a continually increasing number of Social Democrats of the complete sincerity of the Communists. The mistrust of Communists, fostered among honest Social Democrats by reactionary leaders, is disappearing. Recognition of the fact that it is not the Communists, but reactionary leaders of the type of Citrine, who are carrying out a policy of dividing the working class, is becoming more and more common among Social-Democratic workers and officials. That stupid and brazen lie, that the united front is a "Moscow manœuvre," is becoming less and less effective, and is making room for the conviction that the Communist International is pursuing no special, exclusive interests, but is serving the *general interests* of the working class. Calumny and intrigue are able less and less to obscure the consciousness of the worker that *the epoch of the unification of the working class has begun,* that we are climbing up out of the gulf of division in order to set foot upon the firm soil of class unity. And the masses of the workers are perceiving ever more distinctly that their worst enemies are those demagogues who strive to revive old dissensions or to promote new ones, who hate to see the healing of fraternal strife and the transformation of a hitherto divided proletariat into one sound and powerful body.

Faced by the increasing aggressiveness of Fascism and the immediate menace of a new world war, it is imperative that the process of unification *be accelerated*, and that every possible effort be made to realise the unity of the workers *in good time*. We must bring home as impressively as possible to our Social-Democratic class comrades the fact that every minute of the time lost to us in the process of proletarian unification is a minute gained for Fascism, that there is no time to lose in the erection of an unbroken front against the sworn enemy of freedom and peace.

One example should suffice here to indicate the decisive importance of achieving unity of action *in good time*. Fascism is trebling its efforts to defeat Republican Spain. Chamberlain and his clique based their "gentlemen's agreement" with Mussolini and their entire foreign policy upon the hypothesis that Republican Spain could not offer much more resistance to the enemy. Their hypothesis was wrong; and this has led Chamberlain and his friends still further to support Fascist intervention in Spain and to endeavour to strangle resistance by the Spanish Republic. Thus, developments in Spain depend upon the rapidity with which the British government is compelled, by a powerful mass movement of the people, to modify its pro-Fascist foreign policy, and to join in combined international action to aid the Spanish Republic. The elementary prerequisite for such a change in policy is the united front.

Reactionary leaders of the British Labour Party, however, claim that the Communist Party of Great Britain is too small numerically to be worth taking into an alliance. Only a few years ago, we heard the same story in France. Nowadays the French Communist Party can count over 300,000 members, which they have not secured at the expense of the Socialist Party, for the latter organisation has also increased its membership as a result of the united front. Before the amalgamation of the two trade union movements in France, the total membership of both organisations amounted only to some 800,000 workers. Nowadays, the united General Confederation of Labour numbers over five million. Out of 14 million British workers, some five million are organised in the trade unions and Labour Party. The united front in Britain would, as it did in France, bring millions of new members into the working-class movement, and would be capable of arousing a popular movement of such dimensions and power that Chamberlain would be unable to resist it. *International unity*, the unification of all trade unions in the International Federation of Trade Unions, would give rise to opportunities—on a scale which it would be hard to over-estimate—for united and effective support for the Spanish Republic and the fight against the criminal policy of "non-Intervention."

It is not without good reason that the Spanish Socialists have repeatedly urged their International to decide on unity of action with the Communist International. They have, in their own country, experienced the strength which the united front embodies; and, in spite of the reactionary cynicism of some, and the lack of confidence in the masses of others, among the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International, they know of their own experience the tremendous mass forces which working-class unity engenders.

International unity of action of the working class, the international unification of the trade union movement in the cause of the struggle against Fascism, would be the greatest help that could be given to the Spanish Republic, and therewith the greatest help to the entire working-class movement, and on behalf of peace and democracy.

As compared with the division of the working class which existed in the years previous to the Seventh World Congress, the period of unity, in which we now live, represents progress of real historical significance; but, in relation to the mighty tasks which immediately confront the working class, the present stage of development is still unsatisfactory and inadequate. Even the most stubborn and vicious reaction cannot *prevent* the unity of the working class, but in these days it is sufficiently a misfortune when it is *delayed*. It is an imperatively urgent duty to convince the Social-Democratic workers and officials of this fact.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The Seventh World Congress not only prescribed for the Communist Parties the policy of the united front, but also that of *the People's* Front. With regard to the reasons for this new, bold policy, Comrade Dimitroff said:

> "In mobilising the mass of the working people for the struggle against Fascism, the formation of a *wide, popular anti-Fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The success of the whole struggle of the proletariat is closely bound up with establishing a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand, and the toiling peasantry and basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie, who together form the majority of the population even in industrially developed countries, on the other.
>
> "In its agitation, Fascism, desirous of winning these masses to its own side, tries to set the mass of working people in town and countryside against the revolutionary proletariat, frightening the petty bourgeoisie with the bogey of the 'Red Peril.' We must *turn this weapon against those who wield it* and show the working peasants, artisans and intellectuals whence the real danger threatens. We must *show concretely* who it is that piles the burden of taxes and imposts on to the peasant and squeezes usurious interest out of him; who it is that, while owning the best land and every form of wealth, drives the peasant and his

family from his plot of land and dooms him to unemployment and poverty. We must explain concretely, patiently and persistently who it is that ruins the artisans and handicraftsmen with taxes, imposts, high rents and competition impossible for them to withstand; who it is that throws into the street and deprives of employment the wide masses of the working intelligentsia."

The after-effects of war, economic crises, pauperisation, Fascism and the menace of new war have aroused and stirred politically the millions of peasants and petty bourgeoisie of the towns. Decaying capitalism has undermined the basis of their existence; one catastrophe after another has overtaken them. Within a number of strata and sections of capitalist society a *profound re-shuffling* has taken place. Unemployment has become a chronic phenomenon. The peasants sink ever more deeply into debt, more deeply into servitude to the banks, are becoming transformed into the bondsmen of the financial magnates. The middle classes lost their savings owing to the war, to the crisis, to bankruptcies; the artisans are being driven more and more into the ranks of the proletariat; small business people are being ruined by the competition of large-scale concerns; the intellectuals are coming ever closer to hunger and despair. And even within the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself critical changes are taking place. Wealth is being concentrated in ever fewer hands; the position of an increasing number of small capitalists is worsening; more and more peasants with larger farms are also becoming involved in the chronic agricultural crisis. Large numbers of farmers, artisans, business people and small capitalists, who themselves formerly employed labour, have been so thoroughly plucked by the big vultures of finance capital, that they hardly have enough left upon which to live.

It is upon the basis of this process that there has developed an obscure but explosive *sense of a common destiny* among ever widening sections of the people, a confused hatred for the real or supposed authors of this general collapse. The workers' parties did not realise early enough that—faced by this large-scale social and economic re-grouping, with the decay of capitalism becoming more appreciable year by year—it was both possible and imperative to form a broad alliance with this resentful mass, and to rally round themselves a People's Front. Rather was it Fascism, therefore, which profited by this mood among large numbers of people. With their phrases about "community of the people," the Fascists appealed to that condition so strongly felt by large sections—which we have characterised as an obscure but explosive sense of a common destiny among those who have been stripped bare by a small clique of large-scale capitalists—and turned to their own advantage their desire for union. Swollen to the size of a mass movement through the wholesale misleading of these sections of the people in Italy and Germany, and finally coming to power, the movement then revealed itself to be the most brutal kind of dictatorship, precisely of that small band of capitalist robbers who were and are responsible for the suffering of the people.

Under the rule of Fascism, the spoliation of the people increases at a terrific pace, and a further reshuffling takes place, also at an extremely rapid speed, to the advantage of a small handful of bank magnates and industrial barons. The criminals who stand at the head of the state and of economy are not only robbing the people down to the bone, but are also beginning to oppress and dispossess increasing numbers of the bourgeoisie. The comment of the "Voelkische Beobachter" on the law which compels all Germans, without distinction of age or sex, to become the labour-slaves of the Fascist war industry, is amazingly illuminating. We quote as follows:

> "It is not the existence of any particular undertaking that is important. The only thing which is important is an increase in the total national production . . the economic leadership can quite possibly come to the conclusion that this or that factory is no longer entitled to receive national work. For example, it would be an absurdity to-day for all concerns to be dragged into a cartel, while the capacities of productively efficient concerns are not yet being fully exhausted. . . ."

Here it is admitted, with brutal frankness, that the capitalist and financial task-masters of the Fascists have decided, in the interests of their own "productively efficient" concerns—meaning, of course, the concerns belonging to the magnates of the war industries—to throw sections of the bourgeoisie overboard. Nothing could more vividly illustrate the truth of the Communist International's assertion, that Fascism is the terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, chauvinistic and imperialist elements of finance capital. And nothing can more clearly explain the desire of the "two hundred families" in France, for example, or the "economic royalists" of the United States, to destroy democracy as soon as possible, in order to establish a Fascist dictatorship.

Faced by the unexampled spoliation of the people by a small clique of large-scale Capitalists, faced by the frightful danger that this robber clique, by means of the Fascist dictatorship, may remove all barriers to its criminal intentions, and faced also by the daily increasing menace of a world war, it is essential that the masses of the people be assembled into one front of resistance.

The policy of the People's Front against the most reactionary elements of finance capital, against Fascism and war, has been successfully carried out in various countries. Of course, the People's Front movement has assumed various forms in different countries, as dictated by the historical development and the political situation in each given country. In

Spain, the People's Front is a fighting alliance of all republican and democratic forces, from the Basque Catholics to the Communists, against the treasonable generals and the military intervention of German and Italian Fascism. The Spanish People's Front embraces the masses of the workers, the peasants, the urban middle class and sections of the bourgeoisie. The People's Front in *France* is an alliance of the workers, peasants and middle classes, represented through the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Radical-Socialist Party, and trade unions, and a number of other organisations, against Fascism and for freedom, peace and bread. It includes the mass of the working class, and substantial sections of the peasantry and middle class.

In *Great Britain*, the preliminary conditions for a People's Front are now in course of development on the basis of a broad democratic movement for the creation of a Peace Alliance to oppose the Fascist war-mongers and their friends in Great Britain, Chamberlain and his crew. Against the will of reactionary labour leaders, such as Citrine, Bevin and Dalton, the demand is growing among trade unionists, co-operators, the Labour Party membership, and the liberal middle class and a section of the liberal bourgeoisie, to scotch Chamberlain's pro-Fascist policy by means of this Peace Alliance, and then to restrain the Fascist war-mongers by means of a powerful international peace front.

The heroic war of defence of the Spanish people against better armed and equipped German and Italian interventionist troops, the successes of the People's Front in France—which repulsed the Fascist attack, obtained for the workers and other working people a number of social benefits, and fortified the democratic self-respect of the people—all this has had a marked influence on the peoples of other countries. In all countries the people have realised that Fascism is by no means invulnerable, that it is perfectly possible to unite the power of a people against Fascism, and, with resolution, to defeat it. Faced by the enslavement of whole peoples by Fascism, where it has come to power, and by the Fascist warmongers' intention—which becomes more obvious every day—to utterly eradicate the freedom and independence of entire nations, there is at present developing in several countries a broad movement in defence of national freedom, upon which basis the People's Front may gradually mature.

Under these conditions, the working class is ever more distinctly revealed as a decisive national force, as the guardian of freedom and independence. As Comrade Dimitroff told the delegates of the Seventh World Congress, with regard to the role of the working class:

> *"We are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* We Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the class interests of the workers. We are not narrow-minded trade union functionaries, or leaders of medieval guilds of handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society—the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which in one-sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class.
>
> "We must at the same time prove by the very struggles of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people."

In *Spain*, the working class, allied with the peasantry and the urban middle class, is defending the freedom and independence of the entire nation against the Fascist thieves. In *France* the Communists have demanded the unity of all Frenchmen against the treasonable 200 families, against German Fascism and its French accomplices. In *Austria* the Communists fought for the unity of all Austrians against the threat of German Fascism, and now, when the country is under barbaric foreign rule, they advocate a front of all Austrians to secure the liberation of their country.

In *China* the stubborn and tireless labours of the glorious Communist Party succeeded in bringing about the unification of all forces of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressor, and in defence of the freedom and independence of the Chinese nation by an all-inclusive anti-Japanese front. Fascism was able to secure support by misusing the patriotic sentiment of the people for its own foul purposes. Thanks to the policy of the People's Front, introduced at the Seventh World Congress, ever larger masses are now realising that the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie is always prepared—in its lust for gold and power—to betray its country and people, and that it is the workers who are defending, with the greatest ardour and devotion, the genuinely vital interests of the nation, as against the Fascist enemy.

It is also *in the interests of the whole nation*, therefore, when the workers carry on their class struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie, when they fortify the strength of the people in opposing the capitalist robbers who would ravage the people, weaken them politically and sell them into Fascist slavery. It is *to the advantage of the whole nation*, of the peasantry and urban middle class, when the working class is strong and therefore in a position effectively to defend the country and its people. The bravery and self-sacrifice with which the workers in Spain, in China, in Austria and Czechoslovakia, have, under varying conditions, acted on behalf of their countries and fellow-countrymen, is confirmed in the words of Comrade Dimitroff:

> "By the very fact of building at the present time its class organisations and consolidating its positions, by the very

fact of defending democratic rights and liberties against Fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation."

The power of the working class, its organisational solidity and the development of the proletarian class struggle under the conditions of democracy—these are the best assurance in all countries of national liberty and independence. The strongest contribution to the foundation of the People's Front is that the people shall realise the vast significance of the working class as the greatest and most important class in modern society, as the backbone of national freedom and independence, and that the working class, in its full consciousness and power, is defending the freedom and independence of the nation.

THE PATH TO VICTORY

The new policy, introduced by the Seventh World Congress, has had great effects during the past three years. Fascism is encountering increasingly serious difficulties. In 1933 it was able to come to power in Germany without a fight, but nowadays every step it takes is beset with considerable danger.

The unification of the working class proceeds uninterruptedly. Ever widen sections of the people are entering into the struggle, side by side with the working class, against the Fascist bandits. The Spanish people is defending itself—in a war which has already lasted two years—against two Fascist great powers. The Chinese people are on the move, and are driving Japanese militarist-Fascism into ever greater difficulties. In all countries, the democratic resistance to the Fascist aggressors is growing. The Communist Parties are gaining in strength and mass influence, and are becoming decisive political factors in the life of their various countries. Increasing millions of toilers regard the Communists with growing confidence, and will not permit themselves to be duped by anti-Communist bogey-tales. They are beginning to realise the profound truth of Comrade Dimitroff's words:

"The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern, but the concern of the entire working class.

"*The unity, revolutionary solidarity and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties* constitute most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the whole working class."

The People's Front movement obtains its greatest power of attraction through the Socialist *Soviet Union*, through the moral and political unity of the Soviet people who are engaged in the realisation of Socialism. "A People's Front under Socialist conditions" was what Comrade *Molotov* termed the unbreakable bloc of Communists and non-Party people, which was supported by the entire people in the Soviet elections. A People's Front of this nature —the complete moral and political unity of an entire people—is, of course, unattainable in a capitalist country; but it aids to a tremendous extent in advancing the unification of the masses of the people beyond the Soviet frontiers for the purpose of fighting Fascism and war and defending freedom and peace. *The development, establishment and struggles of the People's Front in the capitalist countries create new favourable conditions for the salvation of the peoples from catastrophe, starvation, serfdom, terrorism and war, and in its further development it also facilitates the downfall of decaying capitalism.*

THE REAL MASTERS OF GERMANY

By K. WERNER

I PROCESSES OF CONCENTRATION AND MONOPOLY IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

THE Leninist theory of imperialism proceeds from the fact that, in the process of capitalist development, small undertakings are displaced by larger ones, which, in their turn, give way to gigantic enterprises. The concentration of production and the centralisation of capital leads, at a definite stage in its progress, to monopoly, without the disappearance of all forms of competition. "The replacement of free capitalist competition by capitalist monopoly" is the economic foundation of imperialism. The process of concentration, of which Lenin speaks, acquired, during the post-war period, considerably swifter speed and much more definite form.

In 1907, in Germany, the small-scale concerns —in other words, 91 per cent. of all undertakings— consumed only seven per cent. of the total steam and electric power. But, in 1925, 67 *concerns alone consumed twice as much horse-power as* 1,634,000 *small ones.* This reveals the decisive significance of the large-scale enterprises and concomitantly the insignificance of small enterprise.

The development of joint stock companies during the post-war period also showed how steeply the significance of the largest of these latter had risen. In each branch of industry, a few joint stock companies control over 50 per cent. of the entire share capital.

Capital Strength of the Biggest German Joint Stock Companies

(Proportion of companies with a capital of over 50 million marks to the total capital of all joint stock companies, at the end of 1936.)

Industry	Total Number of Companies	Number of Companies with over 50 million marks capital	Proportion of these Companies to total number
Heavy Industry	592	16	52.2
Coalmining	25	5	75.5
Iron and Steel Smelting, etc.,	17	6	90.0
Chemical Industry	335	5	60.0

In each of these industries, a handful of joint stock companies, by means of their boards of directors or other managing bodies, exercise control over the entire industry. At the end of 1936, there were in Germany 7,204 joint stock companies with a total of 19,224 million marks. Of these, 174 companies only 2.4 per cent. of all the companies—had at their disposal over 10,331 million marks, in other words, 53.7 per cent. of the total capital of all the companies. The 18 biggest companies alone had 18 per cent. of the entire capital of all the companies.

This formidable concentration of production and centralisation of capital led to the further development of monopoly, to an increase in the specific gravity and power of monopoly. Before the war, the dominant form of monopoly was the cartel. After the war, huge combines came to the front; new, powerful trusts developed. But the number of cartels also rose, from 385 in 1907 to 2,100 in 1932. However, this high figure should not conceal from us the fact that it is only a few cartels—like the Steel Association, the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, the Potash Syndicate, and so on—which play the decisive part in the country's economy. And in these cartels, there are usually only a few concerns, or perhaps even one alone, which exercise predominance. For example, the United Steel Works (*Vereinigten Stahlwerke*) control almost all the associations to which they are affiliated, while on the other hand the most important industries of the country are virtually in the hands of a few inter-related combines and trusts. According to the latest figures published in the Swiss press, *at the end of* 1937 *about* 70 *per cent. of industrial production in Germany had become monopolised, as against* 40 *per cent. in* 1933. These figures distinctly reveal the gigantic power of monopoly in fascist Germany.

II. BANKS, FINANCE CAPITAL AND THE FINANCE OLIGARCHY.

One of the most important indications of the extent of the concentration of banking capital and of the alteration in its role in capitalist economy is the enormous growth in deposits. The rate of this growth further increased during the post-war period.

The process of concentration and the significance of the giant banking concerns are also clearly shown in their balance sheet totals. At the end of 1937 the total balance figures of all private banks in Germany amounted to 23 milliard marks. *Of this, 83 per cent. was shared by the four great Berlin banks.*

The growth of the banking monopoly is also shown in the elimination of smaller or medium-sized banking concerns or their affiliation to the larger institutions, and in the amalgamation of the larger banks which has taken place previously. In the period 1914 to 1933 the big banks absorbed 416 banks, among which were 267 private banks and 123 joint stock concerns. Among the most conspicuous of bank amalgamations were that of the Darmstadter Bank with the Nationalbank in 1922, and that of the Deutsche Bank with the Diskonto-Gesellschaft in 1929. At the time of the latter amalgamation, it was openly stated that the motive was an increase in power and influence in industry. This was soon proved to be true.

The coalescence of banking and industrial capital has also reached a higher stage. Since the war the number of company directorships in the hands of the great banks has been tripled. Among the supervisory boards (Aufsichtsräte) upon which the big banks exert material influence are those of some of the most important industrial combines. When we remember that the "Aufsichtsrat" nowadays usually plays a more decisive part than the "Vorstand," the importance of these positions may easily be estimated.[1] Concurrently, leading industrial magnates, such as Thyssen, Krupp, Vögler, Flick and others, have seats on the boards of the big banks, as well as on the managing board of the Reichsbank.

The "interlocking system" is one of the most definite forms of expansion of the rule of the finance oligarchy. Here also development has reached a considerably higher stage. The Flick combine is an outstanding example of this. The Flick Holding Company is called the "Siegener Eisenindustrie A.G. Düsseldorf," and has a share capital of 2.3 million marks, which is controlled by the Flick group. Beyond this, "Mittelstahl," with 50 million marks capital, is also controlled. "Mittelstahl" controls "Maxhuette," with its 26.2 million marks of share

[1] *Translator's Note*: German joint stock companies have two controlling bodies, neither of which is quite the equivalent of the British or American boards of directors. These are the *Aufsichtsrat* and the *Vorstand*. Members of the Vorstand are all salaried, and are practically managing directors—it is a kind of administrative board. The Aufsichtsrat is superior to the Vorstand, and possesses supervisory powers over the general policy of the company as well as its regular practical activities.

capital, as well as the "Waggon-Busch" and "Linke-Hoffman" companies. Furthermore, "Mittelstahl" controls the "Harpen Bergwerke A.G." (mining company) with its 60 million marks in share capital, and, in its turn, the "Harpen" company controls the "Mont Cenis" and "Essener Steinkohle" mining companies, with a capital of 63 million marks. These last two control the Essen Chemical Works with 12 million marks share capital. Besides all this, the holding company directly controls the "Hennings-dorff Stahlwerk" and the "Stahlwerke Brandenburg." These are only the most important ramifications of the Flick group in Germany. Control over all these enterprises is maintained with a small amount of capital, by means of an interlocking system and bank debts to the tune of 160 million marks. The controlling concern itself issues no public accounts of its affairs, as is permitted to a limited liability company.

The power of finance capital has greatly increased during the period of the general crisis of capitalism. The total wealth of capitalist society is controlled by a constantly decreasing number of financial magnates. When Lenin wrote, he gave the number of these magnates as 300. In 1930 it was estimated as from 100 to 140. And now, after five years of fascist rule, between 50 and 60 magnates are ruling Germany.

III. THE POWERFUL PROCESS OF THE REGROUPING OF CAPITAL UNDER THE FASCIST DICTATORSHIP TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE REACTIONARY SECTION OF FINANCE CAPITAL.

"Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (*Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.*). This means that the bourgeoisie itself is not united. Recognition of this fact is of decisive importance with regard to the present situation in fascist Germany.

The most reactionary section of finance capital encounters increasing difficulties within a democracy, and therefore employs its whole energies in the systematic destruction of democracy and the eventual establishment of fascist dictatorship. In the democratic countries the bandits of finance capital are confronted by trade unions and working class parties which oppose unlimited exploitation. Then, the poverty-stricken farmers and the urban middle class elements begin to move in growing numbers, and sections of the bourgeoisie itself, injured by advancing monopolisation, also begin to resent the rule of a clique of capitalist criminals.

Democratic control of parliament, organisations, corporate bodies and newspapers—however inadequate it may be—does constitute an obstacle to the machinations of the financial magnates; democratic legislation—however much it may favour the bourgeoisie—is still a hindrance to the plans of the leaders of finance capital.

The old methods of trickery, of corruption, of the incitement of one suffering section of the people against another, no longer suffice to give the most reactionary section of finance capital the opportunity for the rapid execution of all its plans. Before the robbers stands the danger of the unity of the masses of the people and of the revolutionary dislocation of their decaying rule.

It is for this reason that in all countries the ruling clique of financial magnates and industrial barons *seeks to employ the methods of the most refined criminality*: The artificial contrivance of economic difficulties, sabotage of production, unconcealed treason, the organisation of putsches and assassination—all these appertaining to the methods employed by a decaying finance capital in its struggle against democracy.

The growing concentration of the social means of production in the hands of fewer and fewer capitalists and the increasing concentration of control over labour power, on the one hand, and on the other the increasing radicalisation of the masses—all this inexorably drove the financial oligarchy into the economic crisis which was developing on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, and inducing it to endeavour to replace democracy by open terrorist dictatorship.

The crisis was more highly developed in Germany than elsewhere; it was in Germany that the leading men of finance capital felt themselves most severely affected. Whereupon Thyssen, Flick, Vögler, Kirdorf and the rest hastened to bring about the undermining of democracy; enormous sums of money were poured into the fascist movement. For the masters of the banks and of large-scale industry, Hitler's party formed the best investment. The giant concerns of Thyssen, Flick and others were practically bankrupt and were drawing the big banks down with them into ruin.

Then the state rushed to their assistance with the resources of its citizens, and placed milliards of marks from the state treasury at the disposal of a small group of industrial and financial barons in order to save them on "national grounds," as the phrase had it. The narrow limits of the market, against which barrier these vast concerns had crashed, had permitted, even in the previous "boom," the utilisation of only 60 to 70 per cent. of all existing capital. Now, under the more acute conditions of the crisis, the heads of the great undertakings were determined to concentrate even more capital into their own hands, to extort still more money from the people, and to dispossess a section of the bourgeoisie. These ends,

however, could be attained only by means of a terrorist dictatorship. The re-distribution of capital—carried out by coercion during the five years of fascist dictatorship in Germany, has immensely enriched the heads of the financial oligarchy at the expense of the *entire* people.

The chief objective of the most reactionary section of finance capital was, as the "Bergwerkzeitung" of May 17, 1933, phrased it: "Readjustment to a much simpler conduct of life (*Leben-sführung*)." Translated into less ambiguous terms, this meant substantial wage reductions, intensification of exploitation by means of longer working hours and rationalisation, the further increasing and stabilisation of the already greatly increased monopoly prices. All this was quite openly stated. But, in order to bring the big combines back into activity, heavy state subsidies were demanded in order to start up the armaments industry. And at the same time, the military pre-requisites for a new partition of the world, to Germany's advantage, were to be established.

This home and foreign economic policy, redounding to the advantage of the most reactionary section of finance capital, and which can only be implemented with the aid of a terrorist dictatorship, has not been without its unhappy results for capitalism itself. For example, the very considerable reduction in the standards of living of the masses, resulting from the fascist dictatorship, led from a relative restriction of the home market to an absolute restriction, to a powerful convulsion of this section of the mechanism of capitalist economy. Thus one of the main contradictions within capitalism was rendered considerably more acute.

Add to this the fact that the huge sums extorted by terror from the masses do not suffice to satisfy the demands of finance capital. Therefore large sections of the bourgeoisie are also materially injured through this economic policy. The antagonisms within the camp of the bourgeoisie are assuming ever greater extent and acuteness; the circle of those whose interests are bound up with the fascist dictatorship is becoming narrower.

The economic policy of fascism began with the direct and indirect *subsidisation of the armanents and heavy industries* owned by the most reactionary section of finance capital, on a scale as has never before been experienced in the history of capitalism. Then followed the *lowering of the standards of living* of the broad masses, together with a simultaneous *rise in the cost of commodities.* The formula produced to meet this situation was "Prices and wages must be stabilised." The *degree of exploitation* increased in inverse ratio to the fall in *real wages.* And now, after five years of Fascist dictatorship, commodity prices in Germany are on an average 33 per cent. higher than British world market prices.

The law of July 15, 1933, *on the compulsory formation of cartels* was a further step in this economic policy. Its economic significance was a rise and stabilisation in commodity prices. On the basis of this law outsiders were brought by coercion into the cartels. At the same time no new factories were permitted to be built, or existing ones to be expanded, within those industries which had not been organised in cartels. On the basis of this law over 200 orders were issued up to the beginning of 1936. By means of these, existing cartels would either be extended or new ones established. The result of this was the considerable increase in monopolisation, mentioned earlier. A "supervisory board for cartels" was also inaugurated, which is controlled, in fact, by the "Reich industrial group," in other words, Thyssen, Krupp and their colleages. The fox has been set to watch the geese.

The Law for the Upbuilding of German Economy, of February 27, 1934, assured to finance capital a complete dictatorship. The Economic General Council, for which this law provided, was duly elected. It numbers among its members Thyssen, Krupp, Vögler, Böhringer, Fischer, Baron von Schroder, and others of like nature. Such a body, in the words of Müllensiefen, well-known specialist on cartels in heavy industry, "could only be established by a free, independent state." This means, of course, by a state which is independent of the will of the overwhelming majority of the German people.

A further measure was the "*Credit Reform Law*" of December 4, 1934. This law led to a considerable degree of unification of the credit system with the object of securing, by means of state coercion, a speedier and more intensive *centralisation of credit in the interests of the banking monopoly.* A "supervisory board" for credit affairs was set up in connection with the Reichsbank, controlled by the directorates of the big banks. This board has the deciding voice in the founding of new credit institutions or the liquidation of existing ones. Until now, at least, its activities have been confined to the latter function. This law also permitted a far more effective *concealment of balances.* The centralisation of credit in the hands of a few big banking concerns, the strengthening of the power of the banking monopoly, and a decision in the competitive struggle in favour of the big firms, with the aid of the terrorist dictatorship—such are the objects of this law. It was quite obvious that the programme of the N.S.D.A.P. (National-Socialist Party)—with its demands for the nationalisation of the money and credit markets, for the "breaking of interest servitude" and the struggle against the banking monopoly—by no means constituted any kind of obstacle to this policy. When the law was issued, it was welcomed by the fascist press; and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, remembering the Nazi

Party programme, had the following to say: "The question can only be posed as follows: Is socialisation useful or injurious for the banks and companies? A planned credit system is only possible in a Socialist economy, in a country like the Soviet Union. There is no need to offer proof that such a path is inconceivable in Germany."

In this connection we must also mention the *Law on Joint Stock Companies*, of January 30, 1937. It provided for the liquidation of all companies with a share capital of under 100,000 marks, and also that all newly formed companies must have a capital of a least 500,000 marks. No single share can be for less than one thousand marks. In accordance with the "Principle of Leadership" (*Führerprinzip*), the chairman of the board of directors or of the administrative board of the stock companies may order the execution of any measures they deem desirable. Thus, finance capital is assured of absolute control over outside capital.

Commenting on the law at the time of its issuance, the fascist *Deutsche Volkswirt* (*German Economist*) wrote: "The shareholders will no longer be considered as the real owners of the enterprise, but as outsiders." The dictatorship of the finance oligarchy could hardly be more aptly described.

Within the limits of this article it is not possible to deal with all legal measures which were introduced in the interests of finance capital. We have but space to mention, in addition to those already described, the decree for the "Protection of Labour Forces" of June, 1938, which so vividly reveals the fascist dictatorship as a terrorist regime operated in the interests of a very scanty upper stratum. This decree affects not only the working class and all who toil, but even the bourgeoisie itself. Its effect must be still further to sharpen the antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

In *Capital* Marx characterised the right of disposal by the worker over his own person as one of the prerequisites of the capitalist method of production. It was for this reason that capitalism broke the fetters of feudalism. In the period of the general crisis of capitalism, in which the decay of the system is vastly accelerated, feudal, medieval, barbaric methods return, but, so to speak, at a higher stage of development. The worker is forcibly tied to one particular factory. The law of capitalist commodity production is modified at this point, but solely in the interests of the finance oligarchy. For the workers' wages may now be maintained at a minimum level without fear of disturbance by increased labour turnover. A straight line leads from the destruction of the trade unions' right to this decree. Such unexampled servitude could never be imposed upon the German people without the existence of a terrorist dictatorship.

But this decree also adversely affects considerable sections of the bourgeoisie. For its object is to draw labour away from the average or somewhat larger concerns in order to bring it to the great combines owned by finance capital. By means of this policy the profit yield on capital in the given concerns can be forcibly modified, to the advantage of the finance oligarchy. This can go as far as the complete loss of capital, according to the extent to which any given enterprise is deprived of labour. In other words, laws and decrees are employed to sweep competitors out of the path of the big capitalists and financiers. That those who framed the decree had quite powerful rivals in mind, is frankly confirmed by the writer, Nonnembruch, in the *Voelkische Beobachter* of June 25, 1938, as follows:—

> "It is not the existence of any particular undertaking that is important. The only thing which is important nowadays is an increase in national production. For instance, it would be an absurdity to-day for all factories to be dragged into a cartel when the capacities of the most efficient concerns are not being fully employed."

Now, let us apply these words to things as they exist under the direct rule of Thyssen, Krupp, Vögler, Poensgen. For example, the steel cartel, the Stahlverband (*Steel Association*) embraces some 30 concerns, of which only five, however, produce 80 per cent. of the cartel's total output. Well, why shouldn't they produce 100 per cent? Why should all those other works be "dragged in"? Anyhow, in the meantime, couldn't 25 of them, say, be broken up by depriving them of labour? Would this not be an "excellent" method also of depriving them of their capital? Then Krupp and the Stahlverein could install themselves as supreme rulers and prepare themselves for the coming of the yet more acute crisis of fascist economy.

The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* rightly termed the decree a "*measure for the furthering of large-scale enterprises.*" (But not of such enterprises according to the statistical classification.—K. W.) And then—with unconscious irony?—it added that this measure "does not appear in the National-Socialist economic program." This application of the decree ——the breaking-up or absorption of smaller enterprises—needed as historical pre-requisite the dictatorship of the most reactionary section of finance capital.

All these measures contributed to the most considerable process of the *regrouping of capital* that has ever taken place in Germany. It was expressed in dramatic struggles which had their effects deep in the body of the bourgeoisie and which resulted in the elimination of some of them. It was carried on with complete unscrupulousness and by methods which were quite unexampled. There is hardly a form of crime which was not committed. Whereupon the Ham-

burg *Wirtschaftsdienst* wrote, towards the end of 1937, that since the advent of Hitler "the position of the entrepreneurs [*meaning Thyssen, Krupp, and others.—K.W*] had improved morally"!

The Nazi programme also speaks of the "salvation of the middle class." But the five years of fascist dictatorship have witnessed one long campaign against the artisans. In 1936 alone, 136,000 craftsmen's workshops went out of business. And in 1937 the tempo of this process increased. This is called by the Nazis, with typical brazenness, "natural selection." Besides these, however, there were larger concerns which were also put out of business, concerns which could well have continued their competitive existence had it not been for the fascist dictatorship. The number of joint stock companies, by this means, decreased by 3,540 in the period from the end of 1932 to the end of 1937. Following on the promulgation of the new law on joint stock companies, 1,632 companies were promptly liquidated. This process of elimination chiefly affected those concerns which—in the poetical phraseology of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*—"stand less in the sunlight of government orders, and thus feel more acutely the gloom." The fascist *Deutsche Volkswirschaft* expressed it more brutally: "The discrepancy in the opportunities for profit, between large, medium and small concerns, has now reached almost unbridgeable proportions."

The large-scale enterprises are making such profits that—to quote the same publication—"they can only conceal their profits with great trouble." All investments in new machinery, expansion, etc., are paid for out of current profits, to the extent of milliards of marks.

In the process of the elimination of medium-sized undertakings, as well, even, as some larger ones, *taxation* plays no inconsiderable part, along with the intervention of the State power by means of discriminatory armaments contracts. Alterations have been made in the laws by means of which the taxation of profits, of incomes and legacies has been manipulated to the benefit of large-scale capital and the larger fortunes. Also, as part of the move to eliminate the medium and smaller capitalists, partiality is shown in the allocation by the Government of foreign currency and of raw materials, and also in the granting or witholding of credits by the big banks.

In this connection, a *new use* is found for *Anti-Semitism*. To a certain extent, the function of Anti-Semitism has been modified during the fascist dictatorship. In 1890, Engels wrote that it was the small nobility, the Junkers, who advocated Anti-Semitism, and that the petty bourgeoisie, affected by capitalist competition, were "shouting along with them."

The Nazis also have employed Anti-Semitic propaganda among the petty bourgeoisie, and continue to do so. On the other hand, however, the most reactionary section of finance capital is now employing Anti-Semitism in order, at the least possible expense, to possess themselves of capital to the extent of some 10 milliards of marks. In this case, Anti-Semitic propaganda is employed in order to mask what is really proceeding. The methods are very reminiscent of primitive accumulation. A few examples will show how far this method of robbing one section of the bourgeoisie has proceeded.

It began with the big department stores, and then came the turn of various industrial undertakings. We may mention such important concerns as the Tack & Co. shoe factory (Krojanker group), the Heliowatt Works (Aron group), the Cassirer Cable Works, the Adrema Co. (Goldschmidt group), the Frankfurt Mill Works (Wolf group), the Mayer and Son's leather factory at Offenbach on Main.

Then came considerably larger enterprises, such as Hirsch-Copper, the Lübeck Blast Furnace Works, Wolf, Netter & Jacobi, the Hahnsche Pipe, Steel and Rolling Mills Works, Orenstein & Koppel, and the Suhl small-arms works (Simon group).

In Austria also the robber band has possessed itself of several important enterprises. As for instance the Hiertenberg factory (Mandl group), which was taken over by the "Wilhelm Gustloff Establishment," which had already appropriated the Suhl Arms factories, an almost over-insistently "public" organisation, behind which hide the Steel Alliance and the Dresdener Bank, together with high Nazi Party leaders.

The same applies to the "Hermann Goering Works," which is represented as a state undertaking. Of this company's 400 million marks share capital, 245 million are in government hands, 25 million are held by heavy industry and 130 million by smaller workshops and supplementary industrial undertakings which work up the Hermann Goering products. The state and the supplementary undertakings have paid for the construction of the works; but the Thyssen group, which has the decisive influence, will, in its own good time, formally "convert" the giant undertaking into its own private property. So far, the Goering combine consists of seven different works. The Linz Foundries are in course of construction. Also, they are now taking over in Austria the following: The Steyr-Daimler-Puch Co. (share capital, 17.6 million Austrian schillings), the Simmering Machine and Wagon Factory (4.6 million schillings), the Steyr Cast Steel Works Judenburg-Wien (5 million schillings), and the Pauker Works, Vienna (1 million schillings). All this will happen by means of taxation pressure, in the "course of time." And the Thyssen group always has prece-

dence in all this. At the last meeting of the "Iron-founders"—strictly private—the transfer of these works into private hands was discussed. This came to light only because of disagreements among the big fellows And, of course, a denial was at once issued. Goering himself, of course, has seen to it that he gets his slice out of this huge business. One of his relatives, H. Brassert, a building contractor, is entrusted with all construction jobs in connection with the giant combine. The extent of the graft and intrigue going on behind the scenes in the Goering combine is probably unparalleled. In this connection, the struggle should be mentioned between Thyssen and Krupp, which, in the case of the Rheinmetall Company (already mostly absorbed by the Goering combine) was decided in favour of the Thyssen group.

All the more important industrial concerns owned by Jews, which have come under the hammer, have been bought by big German industrialists or by persons in close relation to them.

This process of the regrouping of capital has also in part affected Jewish banking capital. In the period from 1933 to the end of 1937, 553 Jewish banks were liquidated. Among them were important banking-houses such as S. Bleichröder, Gebrüder Arnold, Georg Fromberg, Strauss & Co., Behrens and Sons, Dreyfuss & Co., all institutions with wide industrial and foreign ramifications. The old-established bank of Warburg & Co.—in existence since 1792—should also be mentioned in this connection.

And who absorbed these banks? Principally, the gentlemen of the Deutsche and Dresdner Bank—Stauss, Schippel and their friends. But heavy industry also climbed onto the bandwaggon.

To this chapter belong also the changes within the big banks themselves, the exclusion from the Deutsche Diskonto Bank of Jewish bankers like Wassermann, Solomonsohn, Solmsen; of Jacob Goldschmidt from the former Danat Bank; of Heinz Nathan from the Dresdner Bank; of Karl Sobernheim from the Kommerz und Privatbank; of Rudolf Loeb and Fritz Mannheimer from Mendelsohn & Co.; of Jeidels, Warburg and Fürstenberg from the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft. In their place enter the chiefs of the "Aryan" robber bands. Here we see this titanic struggle—waged, however, with such unequal weapons—entering deeply into the body of finance capital. Now, with the latest decree against the Jews, they expect to be able to deal the final blow. According to the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" (Zurich, Switzerland) of the 26.6.38 it will provide for "the compulsory emigration" of these Jews, "on condition that they leave behind nine-tenths of their fortune."

While Thyssen, Flick, Vögler and their associates have kept their recent predatory forays—which, with the aid of the Nazi state, were eminently successful—as the restricted affairs of their own clique, they have nevertheless had to take a few persons—not by any means unknown in other circles—into the inside ring of their vast business. Hermann Goering, for instance, has become one of the most powerful financial magnates in Germany. Herbert Goering, his brother, is a member of one of the most important boards in the country. We have already noted the good fortune which has befallen another of the Goering clan, the builder, H. Brassert.

And where Goering enters, surely Goebbels should not hesitate? The propaganda minister's private fortune is managed by the well-known capitalist, Günther Quandt, who holds a score or more of directorships, particularly in the armaments industry, is still on friendly terms with his divorced wife, now Frau Goebbels, and who secured the magnificent Schwanenwerder Castle for Goebbels for the trifling sum of 300,000 marks.

Then there is Hitler's favourite, the banker, August von Finck, of Munich, who recently "took over" the Jewish banking firm of Dreyfuss & Co., with its large and varied industrial connections in North Germany. He is a director of many combines in Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry and is a member of the administrative commissions of the big banks. It is commonly believed that he manages Hitler's private fortune. Also, let us not forget Baron von Schröder, of the banking firm of Stein and Co., Cologne, who is the liaison-man between Hitler and the factory-owners. These are only some of those who have been very well served by the fascist dictatorship. As agents of finance capital, they have now themselves become financial magnates, with the aid of state coercion and "Nordic shrewdness."

Our research confirms what Comrade Dimitroff stated, at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, with regard to the class character of fascism. As the dictatorship of the most reactionary section of finance capital, it serves to accelerate, by criminal means, the process of the concentration of vast capital within a few hands, and to plunder the people on an unparalleled scale on behalf of these bandits. This has led, not only to a marked sharpening of the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system of production, but also to placing 50 to 60 individuals—the most reactionary of the finance oligarchy—in direct opposition to the entire nation.

ON THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED FRONT PACT IN FRANCE

By J. DECAUX

FOUR years ago, on the 27th of July, 1934, the Socialist and Communist Parties of France concluded their united front pact for the fight against Fascism. The signing of this pact was, as a matter of fact, only the official confirmation of a position which had existed for some time, particularly since the February events of 1934.

The Communist Party of France, guided by the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, on the basis of several articles by Dimitroff, in the four years since the signing of the pact, has repeatedly brought up the question of unity, of the most varied forms of unity:—the Popular Front, unity of action, a united party, international unity of the working class movement; for example, at the Congress of Villeurbanne (January, 1936), at the Congress of Arles (December, 1937), and in the different discussions of the Central Committee and in its daily activity.

On the 27th and 28th of May, an important session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France was held at which the Communist regional secretaries and the Communist M.P.s also took part.

The slogan of the Central Committee, "Unity for Action," the title of its appeal published after the session "Unity Brings Strength," express clearly and unmistakably the desire of the Party.

The programme of the Popular Front contains four essential points:—

1. A number of economic measures "*for the re-establishment of purchasing power reduced or abolished by the crisis.*"

2. Measures for "financial recovery."

3. A certain number of political measures for "*defence of freedom,*" "*against the Fascist leagues.*"

4. A number of resolute measures for the "*defence of Peace.*"

Unity, uniting for the purpose of a return to this programme, that is the path that must be trodden in order to free the masses of the French people from "the worry, the apprehension felt about the development of the situation in France and in the world."

The formation of the Popular Front was only possible thanks to the unity of the working class, it has made possible the realisation of a number of measures and social reforms. The forty-hour week, paid holidays, the rights of trade unions were recognised by the signing of collective agreements, by the introduction of the election of factory committees, and the Ministry of Agriculture caused a certain increase in the value of agricultural products. After the great strike movement of June, 1936, wages also rose. All these measures caused a marked improvement in the standard of living and the working conditions of the masses of working people. But all this can *come into question* again, as Maurice Thorez strongly emphasised, by a policy opposed to the programme of the Popular Front.

The "pause" established by Blum's first government postponed the eagerly awaited reforms which were in the programme, as, for instance, the Old Age Pensions, regulation of salaries of civil servants, the question of a national strike fund. This inactivity during the pause was followed by a retreat which seriously endangered the success of the first measures. The depreciation of the franc which took place on three successive occasions reduced the purchasing power of the mass of the people, whilst the cost of living has risen enormously.

The reactionary big employers have used this weakness to let loose a furious counter-attack. In the factories measures directed against the workers and all manner of pin-pricks have multiplied; the employers are organising systematic sabotage of national production; in a number of industries the forty-hour week is not being worked, mass dismissals are taking place and at the same time the attacks on the law of the forty-hour week are being intensified, and finally it is said that they will "get France to work once more," as if the French people had not always proved that industry was one of its finest qualities.

The programme of the Popular Front also includes "financial revival" by "democratic reform of the taxation system," "measures against large incomes," by "control of capital export and the prevention of the flight of capital." Instead, however, a reactionary policy has been adopted, taxes which affect the masses have been increased, the financial situation of the big municipalities, of the local authorities has been worsened so that they have been forced to raise local and district rates and to take up loans, and the interest payments come as a further burden on the mass of working people. No measures, however, have been taken against large incomes, large-scale capital refuses to invest in national economy and openly engages in transactions for the flight of capital.

The programme proposes the "disarming and complete dissolution of the Fascist leagues" and "legal measures against incitement to murder or against

conspiracies against the safety of the State." It is true a law on the dissolution of the Fascist leagues has been passed, but they have to a certain extent reorganised themselves and are continuing their work with even greater cynicism. It is true that some of the arms dumps of the Fascist-terrorist organisations of the Hooded Men (Cagoulards) have been seized, but this organisation was not in existence at the time of the working out of the programme and the Fascist organisations *intended in the programme* were not disarmed.

The Fascist organisations have not only "incited to murder," they *have committed murder.* They murdered the Roselli brothers; they threw the bombs which killed 14 people in Villejuif. Some "Cagoulards" have been arrested, but the "legal measures" against the murderers end with their release. Instead of conducting a policy which guarantees the *unity of the people for the fight* for peace, a policy of concessions, of capitulation to the war-mongers is being carried on. The fraud of so-called non-intervention is not only costly to Republican Spain and the cause of peace, it threatens France "in her security and in her independence as a great nation."

The Government parties of the People's Front were not only incapable of a resolute peace policy, but they are also, as Archimbaud, the Radical-Socialist Deputy emphasised recently, *"not in a position to put an end to harmful pro-Hitler propaganda, the aim of which is to lame all efforts in our country directed towards defence."*

In fact, Hitler's French agents, Flandin, Doriot and De La Rocque, etc., are conducting their business of treachery to France unpunished. With criminal carelessness Hitler's plan of the "encirclement of Republican France" is being allowed to thrive in foreign policy. Whilst in home affairs the harmful "pacifist" capitulation and subordination to Fascism and Hitlerism continues undisturbed.

The reaction and its Fascist organisations in their growing anti-French propaganda are trying to put the responsibility for this situation on to the Popular Front.

Such facts and such a situation caused by a policy which, however, has nothing whatever to do with the seriously formulated desires of the Popular Front, is calling forth *"misgivings, anxiety and painful disappointment among the people."* But the people know well that these difficulties can be bridged by the return to the programme of the Popular Front, and therefore remain true to the Popular Front, to unity, the pledge of victory.

But if, as Maurice Thorez strongly emphasised, the remarkable fact must be recognised

> "that in the country the Popular Front remains firm politically, although Parliament and the Government are slipping to the Right, it is clear that this conflict between the policy of the Government and the endeavours of the mass of the people cannot go on without serious danger to the working class and to the whole of our people."

A further step must be taken and unity established in order to realise our common programme.

The different organisations and parties of the Popular Front are connected with each other through a national Popular Front committee. It must, however, be stated that all the decisions contrary to programme for two years have been taken apart from this committee, that the Communist Party was always faced with a *fait accompli*, that measures were taken before the Party had been informed. It is absolutely essential that measures for the strengthening of the cohesion of the Popular Front should be taken so that the will of the people shall not be further crossed by one or two people. To this end the Central Committee of the Communist Party has decided to carry on a campaign for the calling of a national Popular Front Congress.

This congress, in which representatives of local Popular Front committees should take part, is in accord with the wishes of the mass of the people who want to make an end of the policy of giving way. The idea of holding such a congress received much support. Some congresses of the "Peace and Freedom" movement have already been held and were very successful, such as that of the Paris district.

The success of the "Peace and Freedom" congresses show that the Communist Party of France is right in trying to get the other parties of the Popular Front jointly to call a great national Popular Front Congress.

The creation of wide Popular Front Committees is also an element in strengthening the Popular Front. A number of committees already exist, but they would have been far more numerous if the Socialist Party in particular had not forbidden its members to participate. Of course such committees could have prevented a great many mistakes. Our Party was right in continuing its efforts to form such committees.

The adherence of the masses to the Popular Front was kept up mainly because of the insistent efforts of the Communists to win the most important demands of the Popular Front Programme; without any question these efforts would have had far greater results if the other parties of the Popular Front had co-operated instead of echoing the vicious campaign of the reaction against the so-called "demagogic exaggeration of demands by the Communist Party."

Certainly such a campaign on the part of reaction is not to be surprised at for, for them, every expression of the will of the people is "demagogy," but it is painful to have to state that some leaders of the Socialist Party took part in this campaign. As for instance Dormoy, on the 26th of June complained of

"the continual screwing-up of demands" by the Communists, who, in his opinion, "would do well to put a damper on their exasperating exaggerations," i.e., to put it more clearly: We Socialists are *against* the demands of the civil servants, the aged and the peasants.

Dormoy, in the name of the Socialist Party, declared: "Everything could be saved if M. Daladier would act on the lines expressed in the general voting." What does "on the lines expressed in the general voting" mean if not in the application of the programme? This is just what the Communist Party demands, no more and no less. But this should not be the business of the Prime Minister, Daladier, alone, but the business of the entire Popular Front, it should "act" in order "to save everything." That is why common action by the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to cement the structure of the Popular Front.

Dormoy declared, further: "The Socialist Party cannot agree to the decision to close the Pyrenees frontier." But what, then, does the refusal of the proposal of the Communist Party mean? The proposal to come out jointly for Spain, jointly for the opening of the Pyrenees frontier? In fact, the policy of the majority of the Socialist Party leadership is "too subtle and capricious." This majority should not forget that the "common sense of the people is severely critical of this divergence of word and deed."

It is just this "divergence of word and deed" of certain members of the parties of the Popular Front, particularly of such members who have taken part in the different governments, that is the cause of the present difficulties of the Popular Front.

The words of the Communists correspond to their deeds. Among them there is no such dissonance between word and deed. The only means of making an end to this divergence of word and deed is the return to the programme of the Popular Front, unity of action so as to draw all forces together.

If the Popular Front was possible only thanks to the unity of action of Socialist and Communists, then to strengthen the Popular Front, unity of action must be increased and efforts must be made for the United Party of the working class. For as Maurice Thorez said to the Citroen workers on the 3rd of June: "We are forged on the same chain, either we win together or we are ruined together."

The condition for victory is unity. The Communist Party has understood this well, it has therefore never ceased and *will never cease* to work for unity of action and for the formation of the united party.

Fortunately, we can say that the relations between the members of the two parties and their lower organisations are becoming more and more friendly. But we must also say that this is not true of the majority of the leadership of the Socialist Party. The lower organisations of the two parties conduct joint activities, but the majority of the Socialist Party leaders, like Lebas, Paul Faure, Dormoy, etc., for some time have refused joint activity. They have taken an article by our comrade, Dimitroff, in connection with the 20th anniversary of October, which emphasised and honoured the will to unity of the Socialist workers of France, as a pretext for rejecting all proposals for action on a national scale.

This resolution caused great excitement in the Socialist and Communist organisations. They have jointly adopted numerous resolutions to be sent to both parties and demanded the immediate resumption of unity negotiations. In an open letter, our Party called on all its members to remind the Socialist workers that the Communist Party bore no responsibility for the break-up of the work of the Unity Commission. But before this letter could become known, the Socialist Party published a warning to the Socialist workers: "*against being provoked to breaches of discipline which will be addressed to them.*" All proposals of the Communist Party for joint action are presented to the Socialist workers as *a conspiracy against their party and against the resolutions of their congresses.*

The last congress of the Socialist Party *maintained a complete silence* about the problem of unity in its resolutions. But at the congress of the Socialist Youth, which is entirely under the leadership of the Socialist Party, a resolution was adopted "*that every attempt to establish unity in the different districts is impermissible and that measures will be taken against such breaches of discipline . . . any further relations other than taking part in demonstrations necessary for propaganda are forbidden.*"

On the 22nd of June the Communist Party, in a letter addressed to the Socialist Party, proposed joint action for Spain, for immediate demands and for the celebration of the anniversary of the United Front. It was proposed to call together the Committee of Contact.

In its answer of the 29th of June, the Socialist Party rejected the proposals of unity of action under the pretext "*these were formulated in circumstances which do not permit them to be usefully applied.*" The letter added that the Communist Party "*daily infringes the resolutions and discipline of the Socialist Party.*"

Wherein does the "attack" of the Communist Party on the *resolutions* of the Socialist Party and its "discipline" lie? We maintain that the French Communists have observed every single resolution of the Socialist Party which serve the interests of the people, the interests of unity. Nay, more; they have often even defended *these resolution* against those who should have carried them through; as, for in-

stance, the *resolution* of the National Council of the Socialist Party of the 10th of April, the resolution of the Socialist International on Spain. The Communist M.P.s were the only ones who came out in favour of it, even against the Socialist M.P.s. That is called *Communist demagogy*. Who has been demagogic? Those who gave promises, adopted resolutions and then finally refused to carry them through, or those who took these seriously and fought for *carrying them out*?

A further proof of this is the respect for the resolutions of the Socialist congress in Marseilles on unity. This congress put three conditions for the creation of unity: (1) Democracy at all stages of organisation. (2) Sovereignty of national and international congresses. (3) Independence of the Party from any government. The Communist Party *immediately* adopted these three conditions. Unity, therefore, became possible, it was all the easier to achieve as the bases laid down in these three conditions always applied in the Communist Party. The Socialist workers rejoiced over the adoption of the resolutions of their congress by the Communist Party. If these resolutions have not been carried through, then the majority of the leadership of the Socialist Party is alone responsible, who "undisciplined" did not respect the "sovereignty of the National Congress."

All the proposals of the French Communist Party are endeavouring to get the realisation of unity. All its appeals are fraternal exhortations to unity. These proposals, these exhortations are called "provocations to breaches of discipline." Is the discipine enjoined by the Socialist Party on its members directed against unity, then? What friend of unity can be satisfied with that? If members of the Socialist Party, organisations of the Socialist Party break through the narrow frame of a discipline of this kind, who else is responsible for it but the Socialist leaders who by this "discipline" directed against unity put the Socialist workers in the painful dilemma of either leaving the organisations they have created, often with a heavy heart, or throwing up unity.

But let us examine wherein this "provocation to breaches of discipline," wherein this "lack of discipline" lies of which Communist and Socialist workers are found guilty.

We do not intend to detail here the many proposals which the Communist Party in the course of four years has made. Within them all there is but one thought—unity of action creates the conditions for realising the United Party, the strengthening and development of unity of action speeds up, therefore, the creation of the United Party. For four years the Communist Party has never tired of making its practical proposals. It recommended joint meetings of the members of the lower organisations of the two parties, it proposed to hold a joint National Conference, in order to prepare for the united congress of both parties.

When the Communist Party adopted the three conditions of the Marseilles Congress, it made a number of concrete proposals which could be immediately carried out. Joint meetings of the leadership of the parties in the central, district and lower organisations, joint work on the part of the lower organisations of both parties (the members, as before, should pay their contributions to their own party), collaboration of the editorial boards of the press of the two parties, joint meetings of the M.P.s and other representatives of the parties in all municipal and local authorities, joint organisation of propaganda throughout the country. The realisation of these proposals would have made possible the speedy summoning of the unity congress.

Finally, the Communist Party has ceaselessly proposed that, for the purpose of joint discussion, all documents and minutes of the discussions on the uniting of the two parties should be made known to all members of the two parties.

All these proposals were rejected by the leadership of the Socialist Party, they call them "provocation to breaches of discipline," just as they also included in "provocation to breaches of discipline" the invocation of the Communist Party to apply the decisions of the Marseilles *Socialist Congress*.

Many of the lower organisations of the two parties have held joint meetings and are continuing to hold them, meetings in which the questions of joint action are discussed. The Communists and Socialists of Bouchaud (Allier) put this in a resolution as follows:—

"They decide to hold joint meetings, as they, as workers, have nothing to conceal from one another." These joint meetings are one of the means of strengthening *unity of action*.

Another means of strengthening unity of action is the fusion of the lower organisations of the two parties, on the basis of the conditions of the Marseilles Socialist Congress. In many cases Socialists and Communists have carried this through. For instance, in Saint-Vrain (Seine-et-Oise) in the Renault tank factory (Issy-les—Moulineaux), in Avesnes-le-Comte, etc.

On the 21st of April the Communists and Socialists of Lalinde (Dordogne) passed the following resolution at a joint meeting:—

"In view of the enormous danger which threatens the French people on the part of the conspirators, in view of the war aims of international Fascism, in view of the fact that there is only one way of barricading the path of the enemies of the workers, namely, the creation of the unity of the working class, we unanimously resolve to form from to-day a united organisation and from now

on to meet jointly as the organisation of the united party . . . membership contributions will continue to be paid to the present parties until the Unity Congress. Each new member will get a membership card of the united organisation of Lalinde, valid up to the uniting of the two parties. As secretaries, one communist and one Socialist are nominated. We resolve to organise a meeting in order to carry through on a cantonal scale what the lower organisation has already carried through."

The members of the Socialist and Communist Party organisations of St. Paul-le-Jeune (Ardèche), united in a joint meeting, state:

" the driving necessity of the creation of political unity, of unity as an indispensable conditon of life for the proletariat. They regret that the efforts made to create unity were inadequate, unity would have saved the retreat before capital: they censure those who put obstacles in the way of unity and thus become auxiliary troops of capitalism.

" In order to hasten unity, the necessity for which has become so compelling, they resolve to form an organisation of the united party, individual members continuing to belong to their previous parties. They express the desire that their example should be followed. Just as the united trade unions were the predecessors of the C.G.T., so these organisations should be the forerunner of the united party."

As we have already mentioned, the Socialist Party, on the 29th of June, rejected the proposals of the Communists to carry out united activity for Spain and on the celebration of the anniversary of the united front. The reactionary bourgeois and Fascist press were jubilant. But once again Communist and Socialist workers have not failed to give a joint reply. The workers of Châlons-sur-Marne answered in a resolution:

" On the 30th of June, 1938, in Châlons-sur-Marne, in the hall of the Alsace Brewery, the following met, (1) representatives of the Socialist Party; (2) representatives of the Communist Party, Châlons-sur-Marne section:

" In view of the events at home and abroad, the two sections have come unanimously to the conclusion that the programme of the Popular Front must be realised in full. They demand, above all, the raising of the blockade, which is murdering Republican Spain, old age pensions for old workers, so that work will be available for the young workers, increase of all salaries and wages, the creation of an agricultural relief fund, creation of a national strike fund. In order to realise this programme, the carrying out of the financial programme of the Popular Front—the rich must pay.

" The two delegations state that the separation of the two great working-class parties hinders the realisation of this programme and has favoured the offensive of reaction. They therefore unanimously decide in Châlons-sur-Marne to form a united organisation of the working class. The working class in this way will attract to it still further sections of the working people, and on a national scale will make possible the creation of the united party of the French working class.

" The two delegations insist that their central organisations immediately take up the work through the National Unity Committee.

" For the local organisation of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.), delegates: Roger Denis, Draveny, Dievaque, Pain, Waharte.

" For the local organisation of the Communist Party: Michel, Horny, Emrot, Seurey, Robert."

The Communist Party, and with it the Socialist workers, want unity, they prove that it is possible to form it. There are some who still put obstacles in the way of unity. But nothing will hinder the creation of unity in time. The celebration of the fourth anniversary of the signing of the pact means to work for the complete realisation of the pact and for the creation of the unity of the two parties.

IN UNITY LIES THE STRENGTH OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

By ALBERT DUVAL

THE third year of war in Spain has begun. Never were the efforts of the Fascist invaders so strenuous as they have been during the last few months. Never has the cunning of their diplomatic accomplices reached such a degree of activity as it did last month.

" Never," said Dolores Ibarruri (Paslonaria) at the May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, " was the freedom and independence of Spain so directly and gravely threatened as at the present moment."

The break through in the eastern front and the amputation of Catalonia from the rest of Republican Spain was not only a military blow, she explained, and continued, in the course of the same speech, as follows:

" Hitler needs the military occupation of Catalonia and of the Pyrenean areas in order to paralyse the French people and the French army, while Germany's own divisions prepare for the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

" The chief objectives of the Fascist offensive," continued Paslonaria, " are a road to the Mediterranean and the occupation or surrender of Barcelona, capital of Catalonia and the present seat of the Republican Government.

" The attack upon our country was prepared, not only with the knowledge, but also with the approval, of the British Government. Negotiations for the Anglo-Italian agreement proceeded simultaneously with the preparations

for the Aragon offensive; the agreement was signed on March 15, after the invaders had occupied Alcaniz and Caspe. At the same date, pressure was exerted from Paris upon the Spanish Government to accept so-called 'mediation," which really amounted to nothing more than a proposal to surrender. And, on the same date also, the Italian airmen began their most terrible bombing of Barcelona, which lasted three days and which, the Fascists hoped, would create panic and despair in the capital of the Republic, so as to force the Spanish Government to surrender."

In those March days the Spanish people discovered within themselves unsuspected powers. Negrin transformed the Government into a real People's Government which included the two great trade union federations as well as all political parties. Negrin—who represented to the people the firm belief in victory—took over the Ministry of War from Prieto. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs was taken over by Alvarez del Vayo who had so courageously and skilfully represented his country at the League meeting in Geneva.

The mass volunteering of 100,000 men for the front and of another 50,000 for work on fortifications was carried out successfully, amidst tremendous enthusiasm. The Communist Party of Spain, in this hour of peril, took its place in the front ranks of this mass mobilisation.

Such was the response of the Spanish people, united behind its Government, to the Fascist invasion and to the diplomatic chicanery which was supporting the invasion.

Since then time has shown that the Fascists and their accomplices had miscalculated. Their hope, that Franco's Moors and Mussolini's divisions—equipped with German and Italian arms and munitions—would decide the fate of the Spanish Republic, was shattered. The pro-Fascist clique among the British Conservatives had yet one more defeat to acknowledge in their foreign policy.

The war in Spain is not pursued on the front alone; there is not a corner of Republican Spain which is not exposed to bombing from the German and Italian planes, and the Fascists are endeavouring to break in at every point. Thanks to the "Non-Interventionist" policy of their British confederates, the invaders are assured of the unrestricted introduction of arms and troops into the portion of Spain which they have occupied, and therefore of the superiority in armament and technical equipment. Yet, how often has this superior force been broken upon the iron resistance of the Spanish people!

Catalonia is the most important industrial region of Spain, and Barcelona, its capital and also the present seat of the Republican Government, Spain's chief industrial centre. One-third of Spain's industrial proletariat is employed in the industries of Catalonia. Comorera, General Secretary of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, said at the recent Central Committee plenum:

> "Those who had never believed in our victory, and who therefore had never effectively worked to ensure it, began to show themselves on this occasion, and the people, with their vast parades on the streets, had to force them to withdraw again. The people realised, clearly and immediately, that the chief cause of the military defeat was the poor direction of the war and a false conception of military policy."

Positively superhuman efforts were indeed needed at this juncture, in order to organise the struggle and the resistance of the Spanish Republic, and to withstand effectively the machinations of the invaders' allies.

The provocateurs of Spanish and international Fascism concentrated on Catalonia, directing their destructive energies upon the most sensitive aspects in the life of Catalonia.

They strove to utilise the fact of the presence of the Republican Government in Barcelona in order to fabricate an artificial antagonism between the Catalonian Government, the Generalidad, and the Republican authorities. The Fascist agents assumed various roles. Some of them sought to hinder harmonious co-operation between the two governments by engineering affronts to Catalonian national feeling, by endeavouring to bring up differences between Catalonians and Spaniards. Other provocateurs sought to stir up the Catalonian population against the Spanish Army which was defending the cause of all Spain's independence upon Catalonian soil. It became urgently necessary to direct every energy to the task of exposing these efforts at undermining, and to remove from their spheres of activity not only the Trotskyist provocateurs of the P.O.U.M., but all other masked instigators of disunity.

The Spanish people had learned from the experience of the struggles in Asturias and the Basque country. Since its invasion by the troops of Franco and the foreign Fascists, the Basque country has been deprived of every form of independence, and the Basque people have again lost the right—for which they had in the past fought so hard—to use their mother tongue. Such also would have been the fate of Catalonia, had the advocates of capitulation gained the upper hand.

It was for this reason that the Communist Party of Spain placed in the forefront of its attention the question of the relations between the Spanish and Catalonian peoples.

> "There can be no national unity which is not based upon fraternal relations between Catalonia and Spain, the Catalonian people and the other peoples of the Iberian peninsula."

The successful solution of the national problem of the Catalonian people, the successful conclusion to their centuries-long struggle against Castilian oppression, can be found only within the framework of the Spanish Republic. Any advocacy of separa-

tion from Spain can mean only immediate defeat, the loss of national independence, an end to Catalonia's existence as a nation.

The Catalonian working class, led by the United Socialist Party, had to toil mightily in order to repair neglect, make up for lost time, and get the country into the proper state of defence which the gravity of the circumstances demanded. Such is the task which was accomplished by the newly reinforced Government of Negrin, purged of all defeatist elements.

Besides endeavouring to detach Catalonia both militarily and politically from Republican Spain, the Fascists also tried to stimulate opposition to the Government among the workers. Fascist agents sought to represent the Thirteen Points—in which Premier Negrin had condensed the programme of the Spanish Republican Government—as a retreat.

But the Communist Party of Spain had its answer to this charge also:

> "The Spanish proletariat manifested extraordinary initiative and organisational talent when it took over the factories and set them working. But experience has shown that the badly managed co-operatives evoked petty antagonisms and prevented the workers from perceiving the common interests of their own class. Under the leadership of the State in a democratic regime, many of the existing conditions must be corrected and altered through the nationalisation of one portion of industry, through the centralisation and co-ordination of another section, and, if necessary, also through the transference of a portion of industry into private hands—especially medium-sized and small factories and trading."
>
> "The Spanish working class is sufficiently developed ideologically and politically to realise that its progressive and revolutionary task is now so transformed by circumstances that it must lead all other sections of society into the struggle for the independence of the country."—(*Dolores Ibarruri.*)

This testimony to the Republic and to the Thirteen Points has still further reinforced the influence and repute of the Communist Party of Spain, and has added greatly to the effectiveness of the programme of the Spanish Republic.

It was precisely this fact which induced the enemies of the Republic to endeavour to sow distrust of, and dissatisfaction with, the Communist Party of Spain.

José Diaz, who was prevented by sickness from attending the May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, dealt in his letter to the Plenum, in terms of complete candour, with these attacks on the Communist Party.

> "One of the weapons of the enemies of our people and of unity," he wrote, "consists in sowing distrust, suspicion and even hatred of the Communist movement.
>
> "As the Communists are united with the masses and are the most consistent and steadfast fighters for freedom, independence and unity, any isolation of the Communists would mean a weakening of the whole front in the anti-Fascist struggle."

The Communist Party is the Party of unity. It has adopted as its own the task of overcoming all antagonisms that may exist within the anti-Fascist camp; for this reason the Party did not accept any posts in the Cabinet, in order to facilitate the entry of the trade union federations into the Government. Since the beginning of the war, the Communist Party has taken up a clear and unmistakable attitude on all questions connected with the defence of the Spanish Republic. The Party places the question of the defence of national independence and of democracy above all others.

Throughout Spain, and, in fact, throughout the world, are known the names of the Communists who have commanded the Fifth Regiment, the first formation of the Spanish Republican People's Army. Lister, Modesto, "Campesino"—these, together with hundreds of other Spanish Communists, are known as officers of the People's Army. Led by their Party—and side by side with those officers of the old army who have remained loyal and with officers who belong to other political organisations—they have contributed all their talent and their heroic courage to the upbuilding of the People's Army. The Communist Party of Spain has stood for a united command in all fields, at the front and at the rear; and has opposed every tendency to division.

The Spanish Communist Party has not hesitated to employ the most drastic measures against any of its own members who may have failed in their obligations towards the Spanish Republic. It has called to account, with the fullest publicity, any members who have refused to take up their posts at the front. Unfortunately, their example in this matter is not followed by other parties in the Spanish Republic, not even by the Socialists.

* * *

After the failure of the plan to cause Catalonia to desert the Spanish Republic, the British Conservatives and the reactionary press throughout the world deliberately and crudely distorted a statement by the Spanish Ambassador in London, in order by this means to represent the Spanish Republic as the instigator of a new European war. Just as Bismarck sought to justify the campaign against France in 1871 by the falsified Ems despatches, so did the lie factories of London and Paris—obeying the orders of the most reactionary clique of the British Conservatives—propagate the conception that the Spanish Government was about to convert the war in Spain into a conflict on a European scale. According to the reactionary press, the Spanish Government was about to bomb Italian cities.

The object of this manœuvre was transparent: to divert public attention from the barbaric crimes of the German and Italian aviators and to represent the Spanish Government as an instigator of war. This

large-scale poisoning of sources of news in the interests of the Fascist aggressors was yet one more attempt to isolate the Spanish Republic, and to whitewash the Fascist intervention in Spain in the eyes of the world.

But Dr. Juan Negrin, Spanish Prime Minister, in his great speech on the occasion of the anniversary of the Fascist rebellion, made clear to the Spanish people, and to the peoples of the world, the true objectives of the Spanish democracy. His speech bears unmistakable testimony to the steadfast will to victory in the hard struggle which the Spanish people has been carrying on for over two years against the traitor generals and the foreign invaders. But the speech also testified just as clearly to the Spanish people's desire for peace. The Spanish Spanish people and its Government are opposed to any surrender to the invaders precisely because they do desire peace and not a new war. The Spanish people does not wish to drag other people into war. In demanding that its own rights be recognised, in putting up a firm resistance to the aggressors, the Spanish people is fully convinced that the Italo-German invasion of Spain is a menace to the peace of Europe, and that the victory of the interventionists would mean aggression on France, the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the severance of Britain's lines of empire communication. In other words: war.

The idea that a representative of the Spanish Government could ever express a desire for the extension of the war to other countries could emerge only from the perverted, cunning minds of the poison-propagandists of international reaction. As Prime Minister Negrin said:

> "We fight for a peace which will assure to Spain the opportunity to possess the economic, political and social system which the majority of the people may freely choose.
> "Independence means liberation from intervention, the refusal of any tutelage; independence means that those who toil may work their own land and not be the victim of foreign exploiters. Independence means a political and economic life directed and guided by Spaniards for Spaniards."

In the opinion of the Spanish and the Catalonian Governments, a world war would not be of any benefit whatever to the Spanish people. Spain would, in fact, be the first victim of such a war. No, it is not a world catastrophe which the Spanish Republic seeks; it is a victory through continual improvement in its unity and its means of defence. Republican Spain is the front-rank fighter for peace on an extraordinarily difficult sector of the world anti-war front. And every day which brings a strengthening of both front and rear in Republican Spain, which brings the strengthening of its army, its fortifications and its war industries, is an advance in the cause of peace.

The world reactionaries' campaign of lies, conducted from London, brought together the representatives of all parties and organisations in Spain. Clearly and distinctly, they expressed their unconditional support of the Spanish Republic and its programme.

Of particular interest was the expression of opinion by the Anarcho-Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) on Premier Negrin's speech. Vazquez, the General Secretary of the C.N.T., stated in the course of a radio address:

> "We must place everything at the service of the concrete objective: a victory in the war.
> "We must keep the country behind the trenches united, not only by means of pacts and theoretical obligations, but also through the strict execution thereof. All anti-Fascists must be united, in order to smash, like a granite block, all those who may seek to introduce discord or disloyalty into our ranks."

The accomplishment of this firm unity of the Spanish people has been no light task. It is the result of the bitter experience and enormous losses of two arduous years of war.

At least, the London manœuvre has produced one result: the reinforcement, the closer drawing-together of the democratic forces of Spain, who placed before the whole world, with complete clarity, the significance of their struggle for peace.

* * *

When the fascist hordes broke through to the Mediterranean shore, many people in other countries believed that the hours of the Spanish Republic were numbered. But—as in other critical periods of the war—the Spanish people discovered within itself a strength against which Italian and German war technique is shattered. In both sections of Republican Spain the people stand firmly behind their Government. Sympathy for the legitimate Government of Spain grows in the same measure as does hatred of the German and Italian Fascist invaders.

The securest support for the Republican Government of Spain is represented by the Communist Party, the Party which understood—from the very beginning of the war—that the objective of winning the war of liberation must be placed above everything else and has put its forces unreservedly at the disposal of the democatic cause. The Communist Party of Spain stands in the forefront of the struggle for a free democratic Spain. It is a loyal founder and member of the People's Front; it is the Party of unity and of the victory of the Spanish people.

TENTH CONVENTION OF THE C.P.U.S.A.

By SIDNEY BLOOMFIELD

THE Tenth Convention of the Communist Party U.S.A., which was held in New York City from May 26 to May 31, was the largest, most impressive and democratic in the history of the Party. The Convention was a summing up of the widespread and intensive activity of the Party and hammered out a clear and practical program for the 1938 elections to build a democratic front "for jobs, security, democracy and peace."

The decisions of the Convention, after the most democratic and widespread discussions, were adopted unanimously.

The Convention registered a growth of Party membership from 40,000 in 1936 to 75,000 to-day, and the Y.C.L. from 10,000 in 1936 to 20,000 to-day. Of the total Party membership 31.7 per cent. are women; Negroes constitute 9.2 per cent., while 58.1 per cent. are members of trade unions.

THE CONVENTION IN SESSION

The main report by Comrade Browder was delivered on May 28, at the famous Carnegie Hall, before the delegates and about 4,000 guests. The business sessions were held at the Hotel Centre, some of which were open to the public.

There were 527 regular, 266 alternate, and over 200 fraternal delegates (the latter from trade unions and other organisations), with a total of more than 1,000 delegates. These represented the most important industries and sections of the population. Everyone of the 48 states and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii were represented. While the delegates were 80 per cent. native American born and 20 per cent. American citizens of foreign birth, both these groups represented more than 30 different nationalities. No nation-wide convention containing a mixed delegate assembly in the U.S. has ever had such a large Negro delegation. The 101 Negro delegates constituted the largest ever to attend the Party congressess and is a reflection of the growth of work and influence of the Party among the Negro people.

Our work in the trade unions is indicated by the fact that 458 or 59 per cent. of the delegates are trade union members. The brother Parties were represented by fraternal delegates from France, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Venezuela, Chile.

At the conclusion of the main work of the Convention Comrades Earl Browder and William Z. Foster were elected unanimously and by acclamation as General Secretary and National Chairman of the Party respectively. The Central Committee of 60 members were also unanimously elected.

"FOR JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE"

The report of Comrade Browder was embodied in the slogan for the 1938 elections "for jobs, security, democracy and peace," and which is the general summary of the 1938 platform of the Party for building of the Democratic Front. Comrade Browder analysed the crisis that came upon the country before it recovered from the last crisis and placed the blame upon monopoly Capitalism, stating:

> ". . . We of the Communist Party issued the slogan: 'Break the sit-down strike of capitalism.' That slogan was profoundly correct, not merely in the narrow sense that monopoly capital has deliberately precipitated the crisis and intensified it beyond all precedent, but in the more fundamental sense that the capitalist class, and in the first place monopoly capital, is responsible for this crisis and every crisis of the capitalist system, and especially for their catastrophic effects upon the population.
>
> "Every economic crisis is the result of the policies of the capitalist class, for which the capitalists must be held responsible, especially is this true of the era of monopoly capital. To-day this has resulted in the emergence of the 'sit-down strike of big capital.' And the problem of emerging from the present crisis, is, for the people, for toilers in the first place, a problem of breaking these 'sit-down strikes'."

Browder went on to expose the "tactic and strategy to-day" of reaction "to confuse the issues at all costs, to resort to demagogy, break the unity of the Democratic Front, divide the people." He exposed the slogan of "*lack of confidence*" in Roosevelt as being "a political slogan" and "the sit-down strike of capital" as "a *political strike*." He discussed the class realignments that are "sweeping over and submerging the old regional traditions and interests" which is "a permanent new direction of American political life." In a survey and estimation of the various movements for a democratic front and the criticisms of La Follette's new National Progressive Party as dangerous to the success of the democratic forces, Comrade Browder pointed out that:

> "The New Deal wing of the Democratic Party . . . under the Roosevelt leadership, is an essential part of the developing Democratic Front . . . it furnishes to-day the broadest frame-work, albeit a precarious and incomplete one, for the gathering of the full forces of the democratic front of the majority of the people in the 1938 elections."

However, Comrade Browder made a very sharp criticism of the "Neutrality" policy of the Roosevelt Government, "the bankruptcy of which it has

itself proclaimed," and demanded action of the government to carry out in life the policy formulated by Roosevelt in his Chicago October 5 speech in which Roosevelt called for the quarantining of the warmakers.

In estimating the forces in the country to struggle against the offensive of reaction and the crisis, Comrade Browder pointed out that the position of the forces for a democratic front to-day is much better and stronger than in the beginning of the crisis in 1929.

WE EXTEND THE HAND OF BROTHERLY CO-OPERATION TO THE CATHOLICS

The report was especially characterised by a splendid analysis and reply to the objections to and the accusations made by the Catholics against Communism and the Party together with a plea for their co-operation with the Communists.

In extending "the hand of brotherly co-operation to the great mass of democratic Catholics" Comrade Browder stated that he is "interested only in eliminating falsehoods and bitterness between Catholics and Communists, and placing such discussions on the plane of that Christian brotherhood and charity which we of no religion appreciate as social virtues. . Every word. . . applies more or less to other religious communities in America."

Most Communists are of no religions, more Catholics are however joining the Party. There is no cause for conflict, because Communists uphold and respect religious freedom. In this connection Browder pointed out that the attacks of the Catholic hierarchy against the Soviet Union is unjustified. Soviet Power has taken the basis of complaint away by giving religious freedom to all.

In similar manner ethical standards, morality, women, the family—important issues raised by the Catholics against the Communists were discussed by Browder, who pointed out that we base our standards of ethics upon the needs of society while Catholics base theirs upon doctrines and dogma of their church. However, in practical life both Communists and Catholics seek justice, truth and good-will among mankind. Communists are for a high standard of family life and social morality. There is no reason for division except on the question of divorce which the Catholics oppose. But the liberal elements among all religious faiths are more tolerant towards this question.

The lies about "nationalisation of women" which are still peddled by unscrupulous people of the type of the Fascist Hearst and his gutter press, was branded. Referring particularly to a book by Father Curran containing the filthiest stories about "nationalisation of women," Browder condemned it as dangerous to the sexual morality of the youth, as an indecent book which is against truth and Christianity. He challenged the priest to submit the book to an impartial jury each to stand by the verdict—Father Curran to offer a public apology to the Communists if it is condemned or Browder to do likewise if it is upheld. Failure on the part of the priest to submit to impartial judgment will be taken as a sign of guilt.

On this point, the positions of the Communists was made clear. The Communists oppose "sexual immorality, looseness and aberrations, as the harmful product of bad social organisation, and their increase in America to-day as largely products of the crisis of the capitalist system, of the demoralisation among the upper classes, which affects the masses by contagion. We combat them as we combat all other harmful social manifestations. . ."

Since the Catholic church leaves questions of political affiliation of its adherents for themselves to decide, at least to-day for countries of bourgeois democracy Catholics are free to choose their political affiliations to any party. Therefore this freedom of choice applies also to the Communist Party. That the masses of Catholics are supporting trade unions, President Roosevelt's New Deal, and the Spanish people (mostly Catholics) are supporting Republican Spain, shows that the poor people among the Catholics are for the program of the democratic front while the rich Catholics are for reaction and Fascism.

The immediate reaction in Catholic circles to the plea for co-operation was given wide publicity in the press. There are a number of leading Catholic church leaders who are socially-minded and friendly to the working class.

BUILDING THE PARTY

Comrade Browder dealt forcefully with the problems of Party building, with carrying out in practical life of the revolutionary traditions of Americanism and with the need to exert greater efforts to wipe out Trotskyism and Lovestonism, the agents of Fascism. He stressed the question of Party education, the press, literature and development of cadres. An important part of the report was devoted to the further development of the activity among the Negro people and the problem of work among the nationalities, as well as greater support to the building of the youth movement and greater international solidarity with Spain, China and the Latin American countries.

This report was confirmed by the delegates, hundreds of whom spoke at the Convention, enlarging upon the points touched by Comrade Browder with their reports of the life and activity in their districts. The increasing interest in and practical support and guidance to the lower Party organisations by the Central Committee may be seen from

the financial report of the Central Committee which shows $31,972.92 expended for assistance to the districts of the Party in 1937 as against $25,548.14 in 1936.

The State secretary of Alabama, Comrade Hall, said, "We have people's front traditions in the old Populist party movement of the 1890's. A study of this movement will teach us many lessons." This is especially important in view of the new developments in the recent period in the South, formerly the most backward section in the country which now has a large working class and strong workers' organisations. Attention is now being paid to the small farmers. The Populists in the South, as pointed out by the Comrades, failed because they did not make the struggle for Negro rights the main fight. The differentiation (between the Roosevelt progressives and the reactionaries) in the Democratic Party which is practically the only bourgeois party in the South, is going on as in the North.

THE WORK OF THE CONVENTION

The Convention divided itself into separate commissions and committees. The large number of these commissions and committees indicates the range of problems and the amount of work accomplished. These commissions worked on such problems as the Elections, unemployment, industrial, trade union, Negro, agriculture, nationalities, youth, women, education, press, propaganda, literature, and organisation. The commissions were attended by hundreds of people. In practically all meetings of the commissions and committees progress was reported everywhere. Shortcomings were sharply criticised, better programs were developed.

The brief election platform drawn up by a commission contains the chief demands of the Party. There were at least 150 amendments and suggestions to the resolution on the 1938 elections, but many of these were included in the short program by correct formulation.

The trade union commission subdivided its forces into a number of industrial sessions.

Despite the strong opposition of the trade unions to the attacks of finance capital, many wage-cuts have already been made. The resolution on trade unions called upon the C.I.O., A.F.L. and the railroad unions for joint fight against wage-cuts, reiterated the Party's faith in the C.I.O. and the need for strengthening it, and for trade union unity on the basis of industrial unionism.

The commission on unemployment reported on the progress among the unemployed and W.P.A. workers, and the growing influence and strength of the Workers' Alliance.

About 150 attended the commission on agrarian problems. The main immediate question was that of the struggle for more democracy and participation of the smaller farmers in the administration of the New Deal farm aid measures, thus to improve the measures as aid to the smaller and heavily mortgaged farmers, and to prevent the big farmers and bankers dominating and sabotaging the New Deal farm aid measures.

The Women's Commission attracted more than 200 delegates. A program was drawn up on the role of the women in the democratic front, activities for a health program, problems of the schools, and relief for the unemployed. Intensification of activities to aid Spain and the building of women's auxiliaries in the trade unions and mass organisations.

More than 200 participated in the discussion of the Negro commission. Sub-commissions dealt with work among the Negroes in the South, the church, women, peace, culture and traditions, trade unions, the democratic front, civil liberties and Negro youth problems.

Another commission made a thorough-going examination of Party organisation activities, education, propaganda, press and literature.

THE NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

Scores of amendments, mostly from State conventions, were submitted on the constitution. The Constitution Commission reported that only three members in the entire Party proposed amendments that were in conflict with the ideas of the basic draft.

The liveliest debates took place over the section which states: "No Party member shall have a personal or political relationship with *confirmed* Trotskyists, Lovestoneites or other known enemies of the Party and the working class." The word "*confirmed*" was not in the original draft, but inserted upon recommendation of the Constitution Committee. The main arguments of those opposed to this word were that its insertion might weaken the ban on relationship with Trotskyists. The majority, however, voted for its insertion after the Committee explained the necessity of winning over those honest people who are misled by Trotskyism, hence the word "*confirmed*" is important. Thirty-one delegates voted against inclusion of this word. This is an indication of how seriously the Party concerns itself with the struggle against Fascism in the ranks of the working class and the Democratic Front.

The ultra-reactionary "Chicago Tribune" of June 12, in an estimate of the growing forces of the democratic front, states (though with sarcasm and demagogy) that:

> "The Communist Party pretends to have become an American democratic party. With these pretenses it is as much within the law as the two major parties. . . ."

The "Chicago Tribune" continued that the Party "has ceased. . . to be a party of vanguard proletarian action."

The answer to this and similar newspaper comments of the entire capitalist press was also given by Comrade Browder in his reply to the "New York World-Telegram," the leading paper of the Scripps-Howard press, which bemoaned the adoption of the new Constitution as "opportunism" and "abandonment" of Leninism. Of these sudden "defenders" of Leninism, Comrade Browder said:

> "It may be unkind on our part to disappoint Mr. Roy Howard so sorely," said Browder. "He needs a conspiratorial party of violence in his business, and if we refuse to oblige him, there may even be danger that he will organise one himself. No, we cannot satisfy everybody. But we believe that our new Constitution will prove very satisfactory to the Tenth Convention, to the whole Communist Party, to the working class and to American democracy generally."

At the same time the Constitution serves to Americanise still more the entire membership and their activity. That clause was made to read that membership in the Party is open to citizens *or to those who declare their intentions of becoming* citizens. This meets the situation where any unjust laws may prevent foreign-born or migratory workers from becoming citizens.

The Tenth Convention established the Party as a mature, united and American Communist Party.

The Internationalism of the Party has been proven in deeds. The extensive network of Party and mass schools for the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and its general increased education, agitation and propaganda of Marxism-Leninism in America, and also its devotion to the Communist International and the U.S.S.R. show her Internationalism.

Side by side with this, although not sufficiently, the Party nevertheless is able to report one of the most intensive and widespread agitation and struggle against Trotskyism, Lovestonism, Fascism and all enemies of the proletariat.

There was complete absence of any basic differences or any semblance of factionalism. There was absence of formalism, rigidity and sectarianism. This is because the membership and the cadres have made an advance in political understanding, organisational experience, and in their relations with people. It is because of the increased Marxist-Leninist knowledge of our cadres, because of the increasing ability of our cadres to lead and solve difficult problems in our districts and localities. It is because of the improved Party press, literature, inner Party and mass schools, agitation-propaganda, it is because of the merciless struggle against Trotskyism and ideology alien to the proletariat in our ranks and the ranks of the masses.

Because of this the Party is much closer to the people and is better able to champion the every-day needs of the people as well as to bring to them the full program of the Party. The Party cadres are now better able to work with non-Communists and their organisations. That is why the Party has in fact become an American Party of Communism.

OBITUARY

COMRADE DR. WALTER STRUB

FOLLOWING the death of Comrade Dr. Welti, the Communist Party of Switzerland has lost another of its founders through the death of Comrade Dr. Walter Strub. Comrade Strub died on July 7, 1938, at the age of 56. Thirty-three years of his lifetime had been devoted to tireless service in the cause of Socialism. The son of a schoolmaster who had been a member of the Grütli Party, Comrade Strub was early associated with the working-class movement, and in 1905, as a young student, he joined the Social-Democratic Party in Basle. In 1910 he founded there the first Socialist Youth organisation. After the war, he took part with the supporters of the Third International in the foundation of the Communist Party of Switzerland. Comrade Strub held important positions of trust in the Labour Movement. From 1914 to 1923 he was a member of the Parliament of the Canton of Basle. 1908-9 he was president of the Basle Trade Unions, and for many years central president of the Socialist Abstinence League of Switzerland.

Since 1910, Comrade Strub was factory inspector for the town of Basle. This position, where he had the backing of the high degree of organisation he had helped to create among the workers and of the influence of their trade unions, was a very unusual one for a Communist to hold. Comrade Strub's activity as factory inspector reminds one of the high value which Marx attached to the work of the factory inspectors in England and Scotland, whose reports he considered to be some of the most significant and important documents for the study of the capitalist method of production, making use of them in his own work. As a Communist, trained in the economic theories of Marx, Strub, in his position of factory inspector, made use of his Marxist knowledge, his thorough scientific and legal training, and his great talent as politician in the field of social

legislation to render outstanding service to the working class of Basle. In the 28 years of his activity as factory inspector, he drafted 150 laws and regulations in matters of social legislation; he helped to improve the laws regarding protection of workers; he took the first steps which resulted in the introduction of a law providing a compulsory day of rest and limiting the hours of work; through the laws relating to holidays and to the training and social welfare of apprentices, he considerably improved the conditions of the working class of Basle, and especially of the youth. The progressive social legislation of the town of Basle was due in a great measure to the initiative of Comrade Strub. He checked up on the spot, both in large factories and in small workshops, to see whether the regulations were being observed, and paid particular attention to the conditions of work and training of the apprentices. In time, Strub became a personality known to the whole town. In the course of his activities in the field of social legislation and welfare, he gave advice and direct help to thousands.

From his activity on behalf of the exploited and impoverished, from his intimate association with the working class whose needs and demands inspired his work, Comrade Strub, a scientist and civil servant, drew strength and faith in the power of the working class and the final victory of the revolutionary movement. Attacks from the side of reaction had no effect on his loyalty to the Communist Party. Temporarily victimised in 1923, spied upon by the police of a reactionary government, threatened with dismissal from the civil service, he saw his course of action perfectly clear: to stand up for the rights which had been won by earlier Swiss fighters for liberty, to demand as a Swiss unrestricted freedom of action in accordance with his convictions and unrestricted freedom of association with all who shared these convictions. He set an example to many Swiss of how to carry on the fight at the present time. Strub helped towards achieving unity among the Basle workers, whose united action some years ago brought about the fall of the reactionary Ludwig Government and the election of a government with a Social-Democratic majority in the Canton of Basle. Comrade Strub's political activity won for him a reputation far beyond the ranks of the Party and of the working-class movement. Delegated in the spring of this year as Communist representative to the Basle Parliament, he was elected vice-president of the Basle Grand Council.

Comrade Strub's activity was many-sided. He engaged in scientific work in the field of meteorology, was active in the fight on the cultural front and worked for the industrial development of the town. Living all his life at Riehen, just outside Basle and within a few minutes of the German frontier, he understood the necessity of organising the defence against the danger of Fascism and the fight for the national independence of his country. All his actions were inspired by true internationalism. After Fascism had come to power in Germany, he organised the relief for the German emigrants. Two years ago, after the revolt of the Fascist generals in Spain, he hastened to Barcelona, and back in Switzerland devoted himself to organising solidarity with Republican Spain. Only a week before his death he spoke at a great demonstration for the people of Spain and China.

Having been brought into the Socialist working-class movement by the effect of the Russian Revolution of 1905, he was filled with enthusiasm by the fights and victories of the Russian proletariat. Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. was a part of his own life, and he was tireless in defending and making propaganda for the Soviet Union.

The working class of Basle has lost a true son, a helper and adviser of the people. The Communist Party of Switzerland and the Communist International joins it in mourning a good fighter.

FROM THE SOVIET UNION

THE ELECTIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

By FRANZ LANG

RUSSIANS and Ukrainians, Kirghiz and Turkmenians, Armenians and Georgians, Uzbeks and Tadjiks, all inhabitants of the vast Soviet country on the 12th of June, the 24th and 26th of June elected the highest organs of their republics, after having elected with tremendous unity the Supreme Soviet of the *whole* Soviet Union on the 12th of December of last year.

The elections were magnificent demonstrations of the unity, firmness and brotherly alliance of the peoples of the Soviet Union. On the sixth part of the globe, Communists and non-party people, workers, peasants and intellectuals, young and old, men and women marched in a front of unity, in an iron bloc, smelted into *one* unit, into *one* whole. The sixth part of the world voted unanimously for Socialism, which is already its daily life, for Communism, for the realisation of which it is working day and night, for peace, hourly threatened by the Fascist bloodhounds, for the glorious Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin. It was a *peace demonstration* of peculiar, mighty impressiveness. It was a real triumphal procession of the invincible teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin.

In no country of the world are such elections possible outside the land of Socialism.

THE DISUNION OF THE PEOPLES IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD

When elections are held in the capitalist, democratic countries, one realises how disunited, split up among themselves the peoples are as a result of the rule of monopoly capital. It cannot be otherwise.

All the riches of the country, all treasures above and below ground, are in the hands of a few. Coal and iron, petrol and cotton, wheat and water-power, mines and banks, all the commanding positions of economy are requisitioned by a handful of financial magnates and owners of heavy industry. The State is *their* executive organ, police, gendarmes and army, justice and the press, the cinema and literature, with few exceptions, are at *their* service. This all-power of monopoly capitalism finds its most terrible expression in Fascism which drives the people into its totalitarian chains, binds them as with iron rivets and leaves them no space in which to breathe freely.

Under these conditions public life in capitalist countries *must* be dominated by a fight of all against all, sometimes open, sometimes hidden. A confusing number of parties, groups and organisations stand opposed to each other, are at rivalry with one another, express at times clearly but mostly in a distorted way, the most different economic, social and political interests of the most different classes and sections of the population. And monopoly capital admirably understands how to smuggle its agents and camouflaged spokesmen into the parties and organisations of the masses. The overwhelming majority of the peasants often do not notice at all that their organisations are under the influence of big landlords of the clan of finance capital, and village bourgeoisie. The small manufacturer often does not realise that the leadership of his organisation is dictated to by bank capital. In working-class organisations themselves there creep in the vassals of capital who subordinate the interests of the exploited to the demands and desires of the exploiters.

Under such circumstances in the capitalist world can there be any talk of a *political unity* of the peoples? Clearly not! Contradictions, antagonisms, conflicts, open or latent tension dominate life. The interests of one group come into collision with those of the other. The smallest question of public interestst, laying a new railway line, building of sanatoria, establishment of taxation frontiers, filling of this or that post, raising or lowering the price of electric light, increase or reduction of this or that duty, drives a wedge between the representatives of different interests.

The peoples are split and rent. Demands oppose demands, desires and wills oppose wills. In many cases the momentary interests, often only the imaginary interests of this or the other professional group conflict with their fundamental interests. This calls forth wrangles and disputes, enmity and fighting, and is utilised by the big sharks to their advantage.

How is the elector in the capitalist countries able to come to a decision in full and true freedom, before whom many parties and candidates present themselves under different guises?

> "Universal elections," said Comrade Stalin in his speech on December 11, 1937, "proceed and take place also in some capitalist countries, in so-called democratic ones. But in what conditions do the elections proceed there? In conditions of class conflicts, in conditions of class enmity, in conditions of pressure on the electors, on the part of capitalists, landlords, bankers and other sharks of capitalism. Such elections, even though universal, equal, secret and direct, cannot be called entirely free and entirely democratic elections."

Every candidate who presents himself to the masses of the electors in the capitalist countries declares that he is their friend, that he wishes to fulfil their demands and desires, to speak out in their interests. In appearance the elector is free to decide for this or that programme, for this or that candidate. In fact, he is under the continuous pressure of the sharks of capitalism, who have at their disposal the wireless, the press, economic and political means of power of all kinds. Bound with a thousand invisible threads to capitalist society, the elector often has not the possibility of finding his way amid the undergrowth of promises, of imagined interests and momentary needs, so that he often does not trust his real friend to look after his interests, but his worst enemy.

On the basis of the contradiction between the interests of the people and the domination of monopoly capital arise the favourable conditions for the formation of the widest People's Front of all the robbed, all those whose existence is threatened, all who strive for peace and freedom. But the final salvation, the final union of the people can only come when exploitation of man by man is abolished and Socialism is constructed. Till then there can be no talk of complete moral and political unity of the people in any capitalist country.

Least of all has the Fascist dictatorship in Germany and Italy morally and politically unified the people. True, in these countries there is only *one* party, the Fascist. All organisations are subordinated to the Fascists, led, controlled and taken in hand by them. But thereby only the *outward and visible sign* of division, as expressed in the variety of the parties, is removed. The division continues, is even accentuated, it fills everyone with suspicion and mistrust and from time to time leads to gigantic explosions.

In fact, what thinking man can believe that the workers with joyful hearts agree to the prohibition of wage increases, the robbery of their right to move freely, the destruction of their organisations, the growing provocation in the factories, the ill-usage and the knavery, the muzzling and the slavery? A rain of gold and profit pours down on the armament kings and poison-gas manufacturers, Krupp, Thyssen, the heads of the Dye Trust, the *nouveau riche* National Socialists Raffer and Schieber, who gather up huge bundles of shares of large industrial concerns, properties and picture collections. The people starve and are glad if they can pick up twenty grammes of butter. The peasants groan under the burden of taxes, under the chicanery of forced labour and the eternal begging and saving, the expense and uncertainty of existence. Small manufacturing firms are being closed by tens of thousands. The unity of the people will not be established *by* Fascism but in fight *against* Fascism.

Is there a "united nation" under the conditions of Fascism? Fascism has not even succeeded in uniting the bourgeoisie.

"Fascism undertakes to overcome the disharmonies and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, but it makes these antagonisms even more acute" as Comrade Dimitroff stated in his report to the VII Congress of the Communist International ("The United Front," G. Dimitroff, p. 26, Lawrence and Wishart, London.)

Fascism, through violence, through brutal terror, through its enormous parasitical state and party apparatus, which sucks the marrow from the bones of the people, may be able temporarily by treachery and demagogy to hold back the open rebellion of the masses and to imitate the peace of the graveyard. But the real, happy, acknowledged unity of the people supported by the masses, Fascism cannot create, not to speak of forming it into a lasting social structure.

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION

The political and moral unity of the people, the unity of interests of the peoples and their government, of their party and their leadership has been established and consolidated only in the great Soviet country as the June elections have shown once again.

On what basis could this unity arise and become established? The answer is given in Article 6 of the Stalin Constitution:

> "The land, mineral deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, railways, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, large State-organised agricultural enterprises such as State farms (*sovkhoz*), machine and tractor stations and the like, as well as municipal enterprises and the principal dwelling house properties in the cities and industrial localities, are State property, that is the property of the whole people."

A single sentence of a few lines; therein the dream of generations has become reality. That for which the best of mankind has shed its blood, hungered and made sacrifices, for which they have been cast into prisons and dungeons and hanged on the gallows has here come to life. What Socialist, what revolutionary worker, what honest man who carries deep in his heart the longing for a finer world, without being able to give it a local habitation and a name, can read this sentence without his heart beating high?

Man is no longer the serf of any kind of usurper, his labour power is no longer a commodity for which one can exchange scarce a bare existence whilst Krupp, Montecadini, Volpi, Mitsui, de Wendel and Morgan become enriched. The sale of labour, of the whole of life, the "dance around the Golden Calf," privation, misery, poverty, negligence, habitual degradation have ceased. The decline of society,

the break up of the family, the dispersal of all customs and morality, the degradation of man, in short all the signs of the decline of the decaying capitalist society have departed. The leap from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom has been accomplished.

> "Our factories and mills," said Comrade Stalin in the above-mentioned speech, "work without capitalists. The work is directed by men of the people. This is what we call Socialism in practice. On our fields, the toilers of the land work without landlords, without kulaks. The work is directed by men of the people. This is what we call Socialism in everyday life, this is what we call a free Socialist life."

On this basis, on the basis of free, Socialist companionship, the moral and political unity of the peoples, of the nations, of society no longer touched by class antagonisms, is established, welded and reinforced.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Old fogies who see no future before them, with no belief in a better future for mankind, importantly ask the question:—"Why are there no other parties, no second candidates in the Soviet elections?"

In the countries where capitalism rules parties are the expression and the necessary result of the fact that society is full of class struggles, class enmity, contradictions and antagonisms. These facts are not changed in the slightest when Fascism dissolves all other parties and creates a monopoly. The antagonisms of the classes remain, for their cause, the exploitation of man by man, remains. The party of Fascist monopoly is completely at the service of the finance barons. That is why the Communists, the revolutionary workers defend not only the working class parties but also the parties and organisations of the peasantry, artisans, tenants, small shopkeepers, the masses of working Catholics and protestants against prohibition, uniformitisation ("gleichshaltung") and the subordination of these parties to the open dictatorship of monopoly capital. However inadequate these parties and organisations may be in defending the needs of the working people, their prohibition or "gleichshaltung" would hand over the masses of the people, lock, stock and barrel, to the brutal, unlimited violance of the finance oligarchy. Where capitalism rules, it is to the first interests of the masses of the people that the working people unitedly defend their *different* parties and organisations and see to it that they maintain the democratic right to put up their own candidates, publish their own press, formulate their own demands.

It is otherwise in the land of Socialism. Here power is exclusively in the hands of the working class and peasantry. The revolutionary working class, the hegemon of the country, has no interest in oppressing other working people, keeping them down or imposing on them. On the contrary, they give them the most active support and help them steadily to advance. The outward and visible sign of the complete identity of interests and demands of Socialism with those of the workers, peasants, women, youth, intellectuals, the nationalities rising to a new life, is the party of the Bolsheviks. The Party organised and led the heroic fight against Tsarism, it organised the heroic struggle against the imperialist war (1914-1918), it led and organised the Great Socialist October Revolution, the transfer of the land to the peasantry, the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture, the carrying through of the Five Year Plans, the creation of a powerful army of peace, the Red Workers' and Peasants' Army. It has *united* the masses of the great Soviet people.

The existence of a second, third, etc., party could only serve the purpose of undermining the unity of the people, of restricting the muster of all forces for the achievement of the great aim, the construction of *Communist* society.

As a matter of fact, where is there one party whose programme is *more progressive* than that of the Party of the Bolsheviks? What party programme corresponds more to the interests of the entire people than that of the Bolsheviks? In the 20 years since the victory of the October Revolution the masses in the capitalist world have seen the most different parties, bourgeois democrats, social democratic majority and minority governments, coalition governments in power. But, in no country, with the exception of the Soviet Union, in this period have the poverty of the people, unemployment, periodic crises been removed. In no country can the masses say that *they* are masters of the riches of their country, the masters of their own fate. Only in the Soviet Union where the Bolshevik Party leads the masses, are the people the master of all the treasures of the country, is everything done exclusively in their interests and not in the interests of a handful of bankers, masters of heavy industry and big landlords.

What *better* programme could a second party put out? In whose interests would such a party act, in the final analysis? The masses have already experienced a Menshevik government in Georgia. What was the result, was the content of its policy? The oil of Georgia was supplied to England, the land did not belong to the peasants, the capitalists dictated in the factories, trade was dominated by speculators. The oppression of the masses took on such a form that the masses rose against this government and chased out the mensheviks together with the capitalists, the foreign imperialists and all exploiters.

For what other platform than that of the Soviet

Government and the Bolshevik Party could and would a second candidate fight? Let us take it that he came out for a slower industrialisation of the country. Where would such a policy lead to? Only to the weakening of the country, to a dangerous lagging behind, to economic dependence on capitalism abroad, i.e., in the final analysis to a position which would favour and further the restoration of capitalism. A second candidate might perhaps be for a slowing down of collectivisation or for a partial dissolution of the collective farms. Where would such a policy lead? Only to the splitting up of agriculture, to the creation of a village bourgeoisie, to the destruction of the relation between town and country, and finally to the restoration of capitalism.

Perhaps the "critics" might think that the second candidate could be in favour of handling "softly" the agents of foreign Powers, "propagandists" of Fascism. Trotskyist-Bukharinist spies and watchdogs of Fascism. But where would such a policy lead? To the formation of an open centre of conspiracy as we have experienced in Spain, where Hitler and Mussolini were able to arm their Franco, where Mola, Sanjurjo and the others could prepare their putsch under cover of the republic, or to a threat to the people, as in France, where the Doriots, the de la Rocques, the Hooded Men can forge their plot in all freedom against the republic, the people, the home country.

Let them show us a second party of which it could be said that its programme, its platform, its policy is more progressive, is more in line with the demands of the masses of the people than the programme, the platform, the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! There is no such party! The best proof of this is the fact that where the Bolsheviks lead the masses, capitalism is overthrown and Socialism built up, but where other parties lead the way, capitalism rules, wages fall, prices rise, poverty grows, the war danger advances and Fascism is on the war path.

Why a second party? Who will gain by it? Not socialist society, but those forces which are striving to re-establish capitalism.

If the big bourgeoisie of the capitalist world attacks and forbids social democracy, peasant parties, parties of the middle classes, it does this not because these parties only inadequately defend the interests of the masses, but because they defend these interests at all. On this score the masses carry on the fight against the prohibition of these parties.

In the capitalist countries the attack on these parties, the demand for their suppression is one of the forms of the attack of capital on the standard of living of the masses. Therefore it is the duty of democracy to carry on the sharpest fight against it. The demand for the admission of second and third parties in the land of Socialism is nothing but a link in the chain of the attack of the most reactionary circles of finance capital on the Soviet Union. For all that is healthy, confident in the future, class-conscious and devoted to the cause of Socialism follows the Party which organises the building up of Socialism. A second party would only be a breach through which all the enemies of the new world, all enemies of Socialism could break in. Neither the peoples of the Soviet Union nor the working class and working people of the capitalist countries have any desire for such parties as would not lead to the more rapid advance of Socialism, but check its construction.

Or let us take it that the second candidate was one of those demagogues of whom Comrade Dimitroff referred to in his speech to the electors of the town of Kostroma on the 8th of December, 1937:—

> "The leader of a (Bulgarian—F.L.) democratic party was travelling around from village to village, delivering demagogic speeches. In one village he said to the peasants: 'If you vote for us, for our party, for my candidature, we shall build you a bridge.' Said the peasants in amazement: 'But we have no river; why do we need a bridge when there is no river in the village?'
>
> "The democratic leader replied, without turning a hair: 'Well then, we shall supply you with a river as well'."

Of course the construction of Socialism, particularly in the midst of a capitalist environment, comes up against difficulties. A demagogue would fasten on to these difficulties and use them for his own purposes. Do the Soviet peoples need demagogic worthies of this stamp who will promise the moon to get elected? Their cheap promises will not further and speed up construction, but hinder it. They would be nothing but the spokesmen and pathfinders for all possible hostile elements.

In 1932, when in Germany election followed on election, a Fascist newspaper won the votes of peasants with the promise the "meadows will grow the greener and the cows give more milk" if Hitler comes to power.

Meanwhile, Hitler has become the ruler of Germany. Since then, in the Third Reich, milk and butter have become more rare, and there is a surplus of guns and bombs with which towns and villages of Spain have already been turned into a wilderness of corpses. We have not heard that the meadows have become the greener, but it is known that in the Moor the best sons of the working class, the revolutionary peasantry and the intellectuals are being done to death. Should socialist democracy permit such a Fascist party? The peoples of the Soviet Union have no urge for such second parties or second candidates.

Socialist democracy does not consist in bringing forward many parties, which are only a manifestation of the conflict of interests of the most different classes, but in calling the people to rule, to manage

the country so that it becomes lord and master of its deeds with free choice. In contrast to the *division* in capitalist society, socialist democracy presents the *unity* of the people. Only those who consider capitalism "eternal" also consider democracy to be eternal in *that* form which it has necessarily taken in capitalist society. Only those who consider capitalism "eternal" cannot imagine a new, higher form, the socialist which embodies the unity of the people.

Firmly welded into a unity, gathered together around their Government, their party and its leadership, the working people, in the most complete freedom decide in public meetings the candidatures of the most trustworthy, the best of the best of those who have worked well for the people and for society, and vote for them, determinedly and unanimously without any material or moral pressure whatever.

BLOC OF COMMUNISTS AND NON-PARTY PEOPLE

The political and moral unity of the people, the development of national culture, the transformation of a country backward industrially into a first-class industrial country, the collectivisation of agriculture and its reorganisation on a completely new, socialist basis has been achieved on its own, spontaneously, solely on the basis of the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. The construction of Socialism, and at that in a surrounding world which is capitalist and hostile to socialist society is no idyll. It must be achieved amidst the most severe struggles at home and abroad, and has to overcome all manner of obstacles and hindrances. In order to do this deed, the working people must have an advance-guard which is equipped with an accurate compass, with a tremendous reservoir of theoretical, political and revolutionary experience and utterly devoted to the cause of the people; which is free from all panic and fears, pliant as a reed and hard as granite, sensitive to the needs of the people but never succumbing to moods of back-sliding. The peoples of the Soviet Union had and have such a leadership in their Bolshevik Party. They have in Lenin and Stalin leaders who, without wavering, without becoming giddy, take each step into the new country unerring and unfaltering.

The advance-guard would lose itself in the wide spaces, would become a sect, a bloodless "order," if it were not firmly bound together with the vast masses of the people. The masses without the advance-guard would be an army without officers, the advance-guard without the masses, generals without an army. Only the fusion of the two makes the people capable of doing and fighting. Only the fusion of the two consolidates the victory, prepares the ground for new victories. The bloc of Communists and non-party people is that granite foundation on which the glorious building of Socialism is raised.

> "The Bolshevik Party," it says in the Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in connection with the elections of December 12, 1937, "does not segregate itself from non-Party people, but on the contrary, enters the elections in a bloc, *in an alliance with non-Party people*, in a bloc with trade unions of workers and office employees, with Young Communist Leagues and other organisations and associations of non-Party people."

This bloc, in the elections of the 12th of December, 1937, and in the June elections of this year won a tremendous victory. To the question of the Central Committee:

> "Have the electors any grounds for voting for candidates of the Bolshevik Party?
> "Does the Bolshevik Party deserve the confidence of the people on which it reckons in the forthcoming election?"

the tens of nations in the Soviet Union, the tens upon tens of millions of Soviet electors answered with one voice! They have grounds for voting for the candidates of the Bolshevik Party: Yes! the Party of the Bolsheviks has earned the trust of the people. The advance-guard and the masses stood and stand together, march, fight and win hand in hand. Masses and advance-guard are welded into a unity.

In his speech on the 8th of December, 1937, Comrade Molotov spoke as follows on the Bloc of Communists and non-Party People:

> "There are two million Communists and half a million sympathisers in our Party. But there will be over 90 million voters in the elections to the Supreme Soviet. Communists, as we see, constitute only a small part of the entire mass of electors, but their strength lies in the fact that they are the vanguard of the people. . . . And so it is our desire that the two million Communists march harmoniously together with these 90 million voters to the election to the Supreme Soviet. . . . In the elections to the Supreme Soviet, a united People's Front must come into being in our own Soviet way, a united People's Front of unprecedented power and significance."

The peoples of the Soviet Union, on the 12th of December last year as in the elections of June this year, went to the elections in a *bloc* and were victorious on both occasions.

Can any other party point to such a victory, to such a vote of confidence on the part of tens upon tens of millions? Only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leader, Comrade Stalin enjoy such trust. For in them the nationalities of the land of Socialism see the stronghold of their victories, of their unceasing advance, of their *final* triumph over all enemies.

The venal press of the capitalist countries, including such papers which call themselves "democratic" and apparently approve of democracy only when it guarantees unlimited freedom and fat posts to its

sworn enemies, cannot conceal their fury at the victory of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people, at the magnificent demonstration of the firm unity of the people. Clearly these people hoped that in the elections the Trotskyist-Bukharinist dogs of Fascism would succeed in winning some "positions" or other, that they would succeed in penetrating through some rift into the front of the unity of the Soviet peoples so as to undermine them from within. The vigilance of the Communist Party in alliance with the non-party Bolsheviks brought their plans and hopes to naught.

In the same way some social democratic opponents of the Soviet Union croaked in chorus that the elections were not "proper" elections, they were only a "Stalin cult." Communists and revolutionary workers make no attempt to conceal that they acknowledge Stalin, not from any kind of "cult" but from well-founded conviction. They acknowledge Stalin who has covered the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin with new glory. They acknowledge Stalin who allows nothing in his path to mislead him, under whose clear leadership Socialism has been brought from the sphere of books into the sphere of reality. They acknowledge Stalin who has united revolutionary theory and practice, whose heart beats for the people, who is flesh and blood of the working class and all working people, whose steel will has overmastered all difficulties, whose untiring energy spurs everyone on, whose fire and enthusiasm lends wings to all.

Should the revolutionary workers see their model in Citrine perhaps, the "knight" of the English bourgeoisie, who opposes the unity of the working class so as not to lose the confidence of the capitalists? Or in Wels and Scheidemann who for years before Hitler took power rejected all the proposals of the Communist Party of Germany and its leader Ernst Thaelmann and in the end brought it so far that the worst barbarism is raging in Germany? Or in Caballero, who fateful policy cost heroic Spain untold sacrifices? Or in Léon Blum, whose policy of "non-intervention" has brought the Spanish Republic and thereby the independence of France into danger?

The Communists acknowledge Stalin, the leader of the only party up till now which has led to the victory of the working class and of the people.

Together with the peoples of the Soviet Union milions upon millions of the working people of the whole world acknowledge the bloc of Communists and non-Party people, the steeled people's front against Fascism and war, for peace, for the freeing of mankind from the yoke of the exploiter.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have won a victory such as has never before been known. Ukrainians and Armenians, Georgians and Kirghiz, Azerbaidjanians and White Russians, Turkmenians and Kazakhs, the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic and the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic as well as the Tadjik Socialist Soviet Republic acknowledged unanimously the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. A wave of political activity drew in fresh millions. Hundreds and hundreds of new capable young people are daily rising to the height of Socialist achievements. The youth are surging forward, conquering the air, discovering the Arctic, winning the highest international prizes and making themselves felt in all spheres of life. The Red Workers' and Peasants' Army defends peace with a firm hand. Socialist industry grows stronger and stronger, Socialist agriculture ensures the people bread in plenty. The friendship and fraternal kinship of the many nationalities of the Soviet Union is becoming deeper. The "united people's front in our own Soviet way" is marching with firm step to victory after victory.

These victories strengthen the international working class, all working people, all true friends of peace and all honest democrats. The fundamental cause of all working mankind is harvesting success after success in the Soviet Union. No insolence of force on the part of the Fascists, no yelping of their Trotskyist-Bukharinist stooges, no groaning on the part of the reactionary organs of the press, no false pathos of softhearted democrats will be able to prevent the masses in the capitalist world from learning the truth, from getting to know the significance of the victory of the unity of the people in the Soviet Union. The June elections demonstrate the strength of unity, the peoples *will* hear its voice and draw therefrom fresh courage and certainty for their struggles.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

SPAIN—FRANCE—ENGLAND—ITALY

THE *war in Spain* has been intensified by fresh provocation by the intervening Powers and by fresh concessions by the Governments of the Western European democracies. The continual raids of Italian and German airmen on Barcelona and other Spanish towns have moved the Governments of Western Europe only to meaningless expressions of regret. But when the Spanish Government declared that it would in future reply to mass-murder from the air with effective counter-raids, the reactionary press of Europe, led by the *Times*, launched a frenzied campaign. The Chamberlain gang and their French accomplices spread the lie that, by bombing Italian towns, the Spanish Government wanted to evoke a general European war. Thus encouraged, the German and Italian interventionists cynically made clear that the Island of Mallorca was to be regarded as their own property. Despite the fact that France is placed in jeopardy by the interventionists and by their puppets in Spain, the French Government has now hermetically sealed the Pyrenean frontier. Daladier and Bonnet have followed Chamberlain's lead. Even before the Commissioners of the Non-Intervention Committee have packed their bags to go and discover whether there are interventionists in Spain at all, and how many, the Spanish Government is to be obstructed and frustrated by the mechanism of non-intervention in all its attempts to buy arms.

In France this policy is confronted with the growing opposition of the mass of the people, who have shown themselves in matters of national security more far-sighted than the statesmen. Leon Blum had to give voice in the *Populaire* to the growing uneasiness of the French people. He did, indeed, try yet again to justify the policy of non-intervention, initiated when he was in office. But he had come to the conclusion that, in closing the Pyrenees, the French Government threw away the trump card with which it might have forced the withdrawal of the intervening troops.

Meanwhile the Chamberlain Government is looking for the best way of adapting its pro-Fascist policy to the new situation without too severe a loss of prestige. The Anglo-Italian agreement dealing with the recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia, the settlement of the Mediterranean question and the recognition of Franco as a belligerent was supposed to come into force only when Italian troops and airmen had left Spain. This clause has constantly been cited by Chamberlain and Halifax as an alibi for their pact with Mussolini. They allowed themselves to be led on by their hopes that this clause would be nullified by the quick defeat of the Spanish Republic. But they miscalculated, and hence the present frenzied search for a formula which will allow the Anglo-Italian agreement to come into force before Mussolini has taken a single step to withdraw his troops from Spain.

Meanwhile an agreement about the withdrawal of genuine and mock volunteers has, indeed, been put on paper, but this the Fascist Italian press has already declared its intention of ignoring. As always, whilst the mill of non-intervention was clattering at its loudest, Mussolini sent further troops and war material to Spain. But neither this, nor the moves of the Western European Governments for a so-called armistice have shaken the determination of the Spanish people to emerge victorious. Juan Negrin has returned from his journey to Madrid and the Levante, has raised the fighting spirit of the Republicans in these areas and at the same time initiated vigorous measures against saboteurs and traitors who further Franco's cause in Catalonia by spreading panic, by intriguing against the Government and by encouraging separatism.

In England, meanwhile, even in Conservative circles, opposition has been growing to the Spanish policy of the Chamberlain Government, which, more than any other government, is responsible for the democratic States of Western Europe leaving Spanish democracy in the lurch. The sinking of a series of British merchant ships by the aircraft of the intervening Powers, and the slaughter of many English seamen have deeply stirred the English people. Labour leaders, Liberals and even prominent Conservatives have come out against the encouragement given to the Fascist pirates by the inactivity of the Chamberlain Government. Lord Cecil, the Conservative peace champion in the House of Lords, and the Duchess of Atholl, in the House of Commons, have declared that in future they will no longer feel themselves bound by the policy of the Conservative Party. Shipowners' and seamen's organisations have denounced Chamberlain's policy with vigour. But Chamberlain clings obstinately to his reactionary policy, censured by the Liberal politician Lloyd George, who accused him of subordinating the interests of the British people to his personal prestige, which was linked with the Anglo-Italian agreement.

Franco has produced his disgraceful plan to keep one tiny harbour on the Spanish coast open for

merchant shipping, whilst all other harbours of Republican Spain would be blockaded by indiscriminate sinking of shipping by his aircraft. The Chamberlain Government has not yet dared to accept this suggestion, because it would mean the participation of Britain in the blockade of Republican Spain, and would therefore excite further protests from the British people.

The Chamberlain Government received a further blow in the Sandys affair. Sandys, Conservative Member of Parliament, had information about grave deficiencies in the English Air Raid Precautions. In order to force him to disclose the source of his information the Secretary of State for War, in collaboration with Chamberlain, attempted to make Sandys appear in Court, a proceeding contrary to all privileges and traditions of the British Parliament. Sandys is, incidentally, son-in-law of Churchill, the Conservative M.P., who harasses the Government with attacks on Chamberlain's foreign policy. Here we have the first attempt to muzzle those who criticise Chamberlain's policy; pact-making with Mussolini and Hitler is, we understand, best done in the dark. Chamberlain was forced to abandon this first attempt to silence the opposition. Whether the blows which the prestige of his Government has received in the last few months will lead to a change in the Parliamentary majority at the next General Election depends above all on the policy of the Labour Party. Even during the Sandys affair, the Labour Party could not bring itself to take the initiative in gathering together all the available opposition forces.

In France the disastrous Spanish policy of the Daladier Government has brought about further activity on the part of working-class organisations, whose object is to oppose the aggressors by means of the independent action of the people. The C.G.T. has set up a commission to propose practical measures for a mass boycott of raw materials to prevent the Fascist aggressors from carrying on their war in Spain. The French Railwaymen's Union has reached a similar decision, and 9,000 dockers at Marseilles have told the French Government that if the Spanish-French frontier is not very soon re-opened to imports to Spain they will refuse to load and unload ships of the Fascist Powers. Comrade Peri wrote in this connection: "The cowards in office have sabotaged collective security. The working people are determined to defend peace even against them, and to save democracy even from them."

The retreat of the French Government in the Spanish question had its domestic complement in the release of the Cagoulards (the Hooded Men). This measure, too, has aroused protests from a wide circle in the People's Front, extending far into the Radical-Socialist Party. Pivert's Trotskyist group have been heavily defeated in an election at Lilas. Out of a total of 3,692, they received only 126 votes.

The trade unions have had to face the intensified attacks of the owners. By disciplinary action against the organised workers, the owners are trying to weaken the trade union solidarity of the working class, and thus prepare the ground for a bigger offensive. The C.G.T. has called for united resistance by the working class. In the working-class press it has moreover been shown that in their struggle against the achievements of the People's Front the big French industrialists would not stop short of large-scale sabotage of the armaments industry. These people demand the abolition of the 40-hour week, on the grounds that there are too few skilled workers: at the same time they leave skilled workers idle and lay off labour.

The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis is preparing new war plans. *The world economic crisis* has intensified the war-madness of the dictators. Although, for the time being, Wall Street once more suggests that there is some sign of industrial revival in America, over Europe the shadow of the crisis has lengthened. In England there are now half a million more unemployed than there were last summer, and it is expected that this winter more than two million workers in England will be without work. The faked statistics of the Fascist dictatorships do not permit the formation of any objective estimate of the effect so far of the crisis on Germany and Italy. But the alarm sounded in the German press over the fall in exports demonstrates that *Hitler Germany* is not isolated from the crisis. In the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Nonnenbruch pointed to the grave dangers which threaten even the autarchy of the totalitarian States. General Thomas, a leader of the German war-economy, has emphasised the importance of a strong bond with the economic system of the rest of the world. These are reliable indications that the Nazis feel that their system, based on substitutes and synthetic products, is unsafe.

In Austria, German Fascism seems to have bitten off more than it can chew. In Vienna the scandals of corruption and dismissals continue. The Austrian Nazi leaders feel that they have been cheated of their booty by the Prussians. The people protest more and more strongly against the blessings of the Hitler system. Austria was obviously intended to be the gateway through which the German war-economy would have access to the raw materials of South-East Europe and the near East. But here again the last few weeks have had their disappointments for the German Fascists. The first disappointment was the large credits granted by England to Turkey, followed closely by the agreement between Turkey and France, solving the Sanjak question and binding both parties to make no move of aggression

against the other. The German press seemed particularly troubled by the strengthening of the British foothold in the Balkan market. It was afraid that the Balkan States, especially Rumania, would give a more prominent place in their economic systems to trade with England. Rumania's dependence on Hitler Germany, which owed her large sums for foodstuffs and raw materials, had previously forced her to give preference to German manufactured goods and German war materials. The threat to its plans for economic hegemony in South-Eastern Europe forced German monopoly capital to insist even more strongly that a new gateway to the South-East be opened, that is to say, by crushing Czechoslovakia.

In Italy, the fascists have reduced the quality of the people's bread. The consequent unrest amongst the Italian people has forced the bureaucracy to give some concessions. The reports in the commercial papers of Western Europe of the coming bad harvest in Italy, of Italy's lack of foreign exchange, and of Mussolini's need for loans have roused the Italian Fascist press to hysterical retorts that Italy cannot be lured with credits. Nevertheless, in his most recent speech, Mussolini had to admit to the peasants that the harvest equalled that of last year only in quality.

The greater the economic difficulties of the Fascist dictatorships, the greater their struggle to hide them behind an aggressive foreign policy. Pariani, chief of the Italian General Staff, has been to Berlin to work out with his German colleagues the details of the new offensive. At the same time, the General Staff talks in Berlin led to further intensification of intervention in Spain. In the light of past experience, Mussolini is on safe ground in thinking that the financiers of the City of London will give him credits, even if he does not carry out the conditions of the Anglo-Italian agreement. The agreement between the British Government and Nazi Germany shows all too clearly that the group now ruling England will spare no effort to shield the Fascist dictatorships from the most serious consequences of their financial and industrial mismanagement.

Hitler has not yet got over his diplomatic defeat in May, when he had to abandon his attack on Czechoslovakia. He wants to be quite certain of his Italian accomplices before he makes another attempt. The Nazi press denounces out of hand as unacceptable all solutions of the problem of national minorities emanating from Czechoslovakia. Henlein pays one visit after another to Hitler. The imminent publication of the Czechoslovakian Government's proposals for the solution of the nationalities problem will be the critical moment.

The Nazi press is increasingly worried about the successful conclusion of axis-partner Japan's *war in China*. Even the Japanese press itself admits that Japan is running a risk in pouring her last economic reserves into the bottomless pit of war. The reduction in imports of raw material for the Japanese textile industry has led inevitably to a fall in the production of textiles, Japan's chief commodity for export. The Japanese people is being forced constantly to reduce its consumption of industrial products and food. The Japanese Government knows that all the efforts it has hitherto made in China have failed to achieve a result and that the end of the war is by no means in sight. It has forced the puppet governments of Peking and Nanking to make a declaration in favour of a Japanese peace, hoping in this way to rouse the Chinese people against Chiang Kai-shek. But they have only succeeded in showing the press of the whole world the uncertainty which seems to have overcome the Japanese military leaders. At the same time, Japanese agencies spread baseless stories of tension and antagonism inside the camp of the Chinese people. To this Chiang Kai-shek replied in his speech to the national political council when he spoke of the firm will of the Chinese people to fight and emphasised the strong bonds joining the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China. The representatives of the Communist Party in the council of the Chinese people proclaimed that the Chinese people, one and united, would face the Japanese aggressors and gain the victory.

The Japanese adventure in China occasioned a considerable strengthening of the *United States* navy. Japanese papers are already considering the possibility of Japan being confronted in a few years time with increased American naval influence in Chinese waters. The war in the Far East has done much to demonstrate to the American people the untenability of the so-called isolationist policy. The elections to Congress will be held in the autumn. They will show whether the growing desire of the American people for an active peace policy by the United States will in future find concrete expression. President Roosevelt in a speech declared his faith in democracy, and attacked in strong terms the medieval barbarism of the Fascist States. In home affairs, the President is determined, as he has said in his speeches, to take an active part in the coming elections to Congress, and to produce a division between the forces of Conservatism and Progress. He announced a regrouping in the political life of America, which is to surmount the barriers of the old political parties. Evidently Roosevelt is determined to attack those reactionary elements in his own party which in the past have wrecked so many of his reforms.

Published by Modern Books, Ltd.,
4A Parton Street, London, W.C.1, and
printed by Marston Printing Co.
(T.U. throughout), Cayton Street,
London, E.C.1.